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EDITOI

THOSE WERE THE DAYS

On the eve of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to the United States the big concern—some would say fear—in the Administration, according to *The New York Times*, was that he would bring a letter from Mikhail Gorbachev containing dramatic new arms-reduction proposals. In a recent speech, Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger expressed a deeper unease. Henry Kissinger's quondam sidekick fretted that the rapid pace of change in the Soviet bloc could create an unstable Europe. "For all its risks and uncertainties," he said, "the cold war was characterized by a remarkably stable and predictable set of relations among the great powers."

Is the Administration now feeling "nostalgic about the cold war," as Senator George Mitchell charged? Secretary of State James Baker poohpoohed such an idea. However, judge them not by what they say but by what they do.

Item: The leak of a Central Intelligence Agency report casting doubt on whether Gorbachev will survive. *Item*: Bush's timid and grudging response to change in Poland and elsewhere in Eastern Europe. *Item*: The U.S. side's penchant for raising the ante at the Start talks every time the Russians make an offer. The whole tendency of the Bush foreign policy has been to slam the windows of opportunity and hope that the winds of change will blow over.

If this attitude were only "nostalgia" we might laugh and dig out our "I Survived the Cuban Missile Crisis" T-shirt, sit in our old fallout shelter and watch reruns of *Leave It to Beaver*. But it's not. What it sounds like is the grumbling of foreign policy bureaucrats who are paralyzed without an enemy against which to shape their policies. If that mind-set leads to missed opportunities for arms reductions and ending regional conflicts, it could be tragic.

SOLIDARITY AND POWER
Daniel Singer

THE COURT NEXT TERM
Herman Schwartz

STALEMATE AT JALALABAD
Eqbal Ahmad

SOUTH AFRICA ROUNDUP
Mark Gevisser

THE ENDS OF SOCIOLOGY
John Torpey

HUMAN-SCALE DEMOCRACY
Kirkpatrick Sale

A.T.&T. AND FIBER OPTICS

GRABBING AN ELECTRONIC BONANZA

SIDNEY W. DEAN JR. AND ROBERT LEWIS SHAYON

Since the dawn of the Industrial Revolution, the arrival of new technologies almost always has been accompanied by trumpets heralding the great benefits these fantastic developments will bestow on the commonweal. Despite the fanfares, however, history demonstrates that consumers are usually both uninformed and unprepared for the consequences of technical breakthroughs. Long before public policies are debated, the entrepreneurs have organized the industry and staked out its predicted markets. That is precisely what is happening with fiber optics today.

An optical fiber is a hair-thin glass pipe for light waves that, in multifiber trunks, has virtually unlimited capacity for sending and receiving audio, video and textual content. As one expert has put it, the difference between a copper telephone wire and a multifiber optic cable is the difference between a four-lane highway and a superhighway of a thousand lanes. Fiber-optic cables recently laid beneath the Atlantic and Pacific oceans can carry 40,000 simultaneous telephone conversations, and another cable across the Pacific that can handle double that traffic is expected to go into operation in 1992.

For the most part, transmission, reception and processing is now available one channel at a time via radio, television, cable broadcasting, telephone and microwave. But the capacity of fiber optics permits simultaneous access to those services as well as hundreds of others in the home and workplace, from TV entertainment programs to a burgeoning number of

(*Continued on Page 387*)

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EXCHANGE.

THE LEFT AND TIANANMEN SQUARE

Cambridge, Mass.

I do not wish to engage in an ad homenum [*sic*] exchange with Alexander Cockburn. I do wish to state the facts relating to his attack on my column about the response of certain democracy-bashers to the events in China.

(1) Lionel Rolfe, of the B'nai B'rith *Messenger*, tells me that he was called by a woman who did not identify herself as calling for Alexander Cockburn. She proceeded to give Mr. Rolfe a hypothetical about a column that used made-up quotes. When I told Mr. Rolfe what I actually did in relation to my column, he was furious about how he was misquoted. He agreed with distinguished journalists with whom I consulted that my conduct was entirely professional. My goal was to find out what certain democracy-bashers had said and were saying about China—not *to me*, but to the press in general. Accordingly, I had my associate call and identify herself as doing research for a columnist. She was instructed to identify herself as working for me if asked who the columnist was, but not to volunteer my name. This is perfectly appropriate investigative journalism. (This is apparently what Cockburn's associate did in her call to Rolfe in a far more questionable context.)

(2) Every call described in the column was, of course, made (as phone toll slips attest) and each of the conversations was reported accurately (as my associates' notes attest).

(3) Noam Chomsky claims that he had criticized the massacre—he used the stronger word "condemned" in a letter to the editor—in an article he wrote for the *Star Tribune* (6/15/89). This is the totality of what Chomsky wrote about China in the *Star Tribune*:

> Power struggles for democracy and human rights also regularly confront deadly force, as we have recently seen in Tiananmen Square, Tblisi [*sic*], Kwangju, and San Salvador, among many other cases.

This antiseptic description is far from a condemnation, and by comparing it to "many other cases," Chomsky trivializes the enormity of the Chinese massacre.

My associate called William Kunstler's office and the woman who identified herself as his secretary said that Kunstler had made no statement. This is consistent with his long-expressed view that he will not condemn human rights violations by socialist countries. Kunstler now claims that one week later (on June 17) he did make a statement on *CBS Evening News* during which he condemned the events in China as a "massacre." This is what he said on the news that night:

> If you feel that the Chinese government, or any other government, including the American government, are going to use pictures to prosecute people and perhaps eventually murder them, then you have an ethical dilemma. . . . Do you do it or do you not?

That is a far cry from criticism.

Cockburn either did not check the easily available sources before he published Chomsky's and Kunstler's self-serving mischaracterizations of their statements, or he knowingly misinformed his readers.

(4) The executive director of the National Lawyers Guild told my associate that his own personal view was that China should not have used force against unarmed civilians, but he reiterated that the guild, as an organization, could come to no organizational position "without more information and discussion."

(5) I never told Tristan Reader that I spoke to the "Palestinian press office." My associate spoke to a press person from the P.L.O.'s U.N. Mission, who told her—according to her notes—that "It is an internal problem. We are not going to get involved." That, in fact, is the P.L.O. position, as evidenced by the following cable of congratulations sent to Jiang Zemin by Yasir Arafat on June 25:

> . . . On behalf of the Arab Palestinian people and their leadership, and myself, I express the warmest, most sincere congratulations to you—dear comrade—on your appointment to General Secretary of the CPC, and take this opportunity to express our extreme gratification that the friendly People's China has restored normal order after the recent incidents.

Israel, on the other hand, has expressly "denounced" the Chinese violence and the recent executions, despite Cockburn's assertion to the contrary.

(6) Cockburn chastises me for using the word "ignored" in characterizing *The Nation*'s coverage of the students' homage to the Statue of Liberty and Patrick Henry. Perhaps the word "trivialized" would have been better but my point is accurate.

(7) My comment that the various Marxist weeklies were "busy trying to get the events in China into their political orthodoxies" is accurate, as a perusal of these journals will attest.

(8) In sum, there were no "lies" in my column, only in Cockburn's purported descriptions of what I had done. A person who writes about other writers' journalistic ethics ought to be above reproach. Cockburn's false reporting about my column should put readers on the guard about his future attempts to beat his various devils.

Alan M. Dershowitz

COCKBURN REPLIES

Aptos, Calif.

Dershowitz's slapdash way with reality is rather nicely evinced by his persistent misspelling, through the three versions of his letter received by *The Nation*, of a tag he must have looked at thousands of times in his life—*ad hominem*. It's as though his typewriter rebelled at the hypocrisy of his protestations. In dealing with any of his claims it is well worth remembering the advice he gives in his own volume on criminal courtroom tactics: "It is the job of defense attorney—especially when representing the guilty—to prevent . . . the whole truth from coming out." By Dershowitz's standards this is moderate counsel. In the case of the subject under discussion, his procedure has been to prevent the emergence of virtually any of the truth. To take his points in order:

(1) Was Lionel Rolfe misled about the nature of a call from my colleague JoAnn Wypijewski? On the days that *Nation* colleagues and I were checking Dershowitz's attack on the U.S. left for minimizing, even dismissing, the slaughter in Tiananmen Square, we attempted to contact the five newspapers that we knew had run Dershowitz's column. For each of them I prepared a letter and list of questions to be read or faxed or both. The letter began, "I'm preparing a column for The Nation which in part addresses itself to a piece by Alan Dershowitz which ran in your pages recently." In the case of the B'nai B'rith *Messenger*, for which Lionel Rolfe was acting editor, Wypijewski called twice and spoke to different staff members, each time explaining the purpose of her call and asking for a fax number, before being finally passed to Rolfe. He volunteered to discuss the Dershowitz column, and indeed did so in a very straightforward and friendly manner, thus distinguishing himself from the four other editors reached, all of whom were defensive or hostile in varying degrees. (In the end a technical problem prevented a fax connection between *The Nation* and the *Messenger*.) Those who refer back to my original item ("The Lies of Alan Dershowitz") will perceive that it is strange for Dershowitz now to claim that Rolfe was "furious about how he was misquoted." Rolfe was not directly quoted at all.

What did Rolfe think in the aftermath of the column and after being contacted by Dershowitz? Here again anything Dershowitz says is worthless.

Wypijewski called Rolfe after *The Nation* received the first of Dershowitz's progressively amended communications. Here are some excerpts from that exchange, which Rolfe agreed could be recorded:

LR: I knew you were from *The Na-*

(*Continued on Page 399*)

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CONTENTS.

Volume 249, Number 11

EXCHANGE

370 *Alan M. Dershowitz, Alexander Cockburn*

EDITORIALS

369 Those Were the Days

371 Trials of Barney

372 Real Sanctions

372 Stop Stello *Harvey Wasserman*

373 Mike Harrington *Willy Brandt*

COLUMNS

374 Uncivil Liberties *Calvin Trillin*

375 Minority Report *Christopher Hitchens*

ARTICLES

369 A.T.&T. and Fiber Optics: Grabbing an Electronic Bonanza *Sidney W. Dean Jr. and Robert Lewis Shayon*

376 Letter from Europe: Solidarity—The Road to Power *Daniel Singer*

380 The Court Next Term: Consolidating the New Majority *Herman Schwartz*

384 Two Battles, Two Wars: Stalemate at Jalalabad *Eqbal Ahmad*

BOOKS & THE ARTS

390 Time Stands Still *Mark Gevisser*

393 What's in a Number? *John Torpey*

395 Bryan and McClaughry: The Vermont Papers: Recreating Democracy On a Human Scale *Kirkpatrick Sale*

396 Bells on Taiwan (poem) *Anne Babson Carter*

396 Films *Stuart Klawans*

Drawings by Theresa King

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Manuscripts: The magazine cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by addressed, stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Arthur L. Carter

President and Associate Publisher, David Parker; *General Manager*, Neil Black; *Advertising Director*, Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager*, Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeepers*, Tanveer Mall, Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager*, Jane Sharples; *Circulation Director*, Margaret Pyle; *Subscription Manager*, Cookee V. Klein; *Director, Nation Books*, Elsa Dixler; *Receptionists*, Greta Loell, Vivette Dhanukdhari; *Mail Clerk*, John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary*, Shirley Sulat; *Production*, Terry Miller; *Typography*, Randall Cherry, Sandy McCroskey; *Nation Associates: Director*, Sandra Zickefoose, *Assistant Director*, Carlos Durazo; *Syndication*, Jeff Sorensen; *New Business Manager*, Jay Pearsall; *Special Projects Director*, Peter G. Meyer; *InterNation*, Chris Calhoun.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc. © 1989 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Subscription Price*: One year, $36; two years, $64. Add $14 for surface mail postage outside U.S. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. This issue went to press on September 21.

EDITORIALS.

Trials of Barney

Let it first be said that we like Barney Frank's mind. After all, he's the man who skewered the hypocrisy of those who oppose abortion while voting against infant nutrition programs. They believe, Frank said, that "life begins at conception and ends at birth."

Let it also be noted that we agree with much of Barney Frank's political agenda. He has led the way on Federal housing policy, immigration reform, ethics legislation and reduction of military spending. Before and after declaring his homosexuality in 1987 he has been a leader in the fight for gay and lesbian rights. And when Republican National Committee chair Lee Atwater tried to compromise Thomas Foley's campaign for Speaker of the House by sexual innuendo, it was Frank who threatened to expose gay House Republicans who support homophobic policies. No, we don't agree with everything Frank stands for—his willingness to exclude Palestinian nationalists under the McCarran-Walter Act, for example. But those arguments are for another day. In a time when many supposedly liberal Democratic politicians hid their principles in the closet, Barney Frank came out as liberalism's most articulate and effective exponent on the Hill.

More's the pity that—as he freely admits—he did a dumb

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thing. By his own account he tried to play Henry Higgins to a male prostitute named Stephen Gobie, who was no Eliza Doolittle—he had been convicted of producing child pornography and possession of cocaine, and he ran a sex ring from Frank's Washington apartment.

But we're unable to join the chorus calling for his resignation. And that's not just because some of the conservative voices in it represent political opportunism of a particularly ugly sort and are using Frank's fall for a carnival of gay-bashing. Or because some of it emanates from politicians of the "he-is-an-embarrassment" school, which holds that only an act of political hara-kiri will cleanse the sacred image of the Democratic Party and prevent more G.O.P. innuendoes in the next election. We also disagree with credentialed liberal voices like *The Boston Globe* and columnist Mark Shields, who say Frank should clean out his desk because his disgrace has fatally impaired his effectiveness as a spokesman for the progressive cause.

If the Gobie affair is Frank's Chappaquiddick, then we should recall that Senator Edward Kennedy is a prime example of how to survive as an effective liberal after making a bad mistake. To be sure, in the foreseeable future, Frank's ability to function as the public conscience will be reduced. But it would be unfortunate if the progressive community lost his voice in Washington. His personal judgment was bad, but his political judgment on hundreds of issues, large and small, tactical and substantive, has never been needed more. Let his constituents weigh their Representative's lapse against his accomplishments.

But whatever Frank's political leanings, what has been overlooked in all the to-do about his future is the true significance of his predicament, which is the predicament of all transgressors of our mythical sexual norms who desire to serve in government. As usual when the matter of homosexuality comes up in America we get, in the mainstream media, either titillation in the tabloids or tight-lipped tolerance in *The Times*. Meanwhile, nothing gets said about the intolerance ingrained in our culture that makes life hell for those like Frank who discover they are different, about the legacy of persecution and humiliation of thousands of gays and lesbians, about the occasional physical attacks and the deeper, unremitting assault on their sense of self-worth faced by those who choose to lead a gay life in America. Barney Frank came out, but as Andrew Kopkind has written, "Gays come out into repression, not liberation." This is the issue the pundits and editorialists should address in connection with the sad case of Barney Frank.

Real Sanctions

The Bush Administration is hoping that South Africa's new President, F.W. de Klerk, will start looking like a reformer, and soon. As a *Washington Post* editorial argued recently, this would have the "desirable purpose, in the Bush view, of keeping South Africa and the sanctions issue from becoming again a matter of hot American political debate." Once again, the press is dutifully satisfying the Administration's wishes. They shouldn't be allowed to get away with it.

In early September, a panel convened by the U.N. Center on Transnational Corporations held hearings in Geneva on the economic relations between South Africa and the world at large—hearings that went virtually unreported in the U.S. press. Except for South African businessmen and their foreign apologists, the consensus of the witnesses was clear: Sanctions work, and all serious opponents of apartheid should push for their intensification.

Current sanctions imposed by the United Nations as well as the United States and several other countries are quite leaky. The arms embargo, mandatory under international law because of its endorsement by the U.N. Security Council, is routinely violated, with Chile, Israel and West Germany among the offenders. Oil continues to enter South Africa, and coal, diamonds and gold continue to leave. Despite their loudly announced pullouts from South Africa, many U.S. multinationals continue to do business there through affiliates and licensees. Few European multinationals have bothered with even the appearance of withdrawal.

Economic sanctions would be far more effective if they, too, were made mandatory, but the United States and Britain have repeatedly blocked such attempts in the U.N. Security Council. If George Bush is serious about his professed abhorrence of apartheid, he will rescind this disgraceful veto and urge Margaret Thatcher to do the same.

Such comprehensive economic sanctions would be the most potent move against the apartheid regime. (Representative Walter Fauntroy is drafting legislation that would commit the United States to economic sanctions; so far, the Administration opposes such a policy.) Much of South Africa's foreign debt falls due next year; if the banks—among them J.P. Morgan and Manufacturers Hanover—take a hard line and demand repayment rather than offer a rollover, life will get very difficult for Pretoria. And if South Africa is denied trade credits, its foreign commerce will be virtually frozen, almost overnight.

In its final communiqué, which our media chose not to report, the U.N. panel recommended that trade sanctions be made mandatory and that other economic sanctions be imposed promptly. This is a platform all supporters of a nonracial democracy in South Africa should endorse.

Stop Stello

Victor Stello has been appointed by the Bush Administration to head the national effort to clean up our crumbling nuclear weapons facilities—a choice exceeded in dangerous bad judgment only by that of Dan Quayle for the Vice Presidency. The assignment could hardly be more crucial. Despite the best efforts of the military to suppress the story, there is a national consensus on the desperate need to clean up our dilapidated nuclear weapons production industry. Seventeen facilities across the United States are so badly polluted with radioactive waste that some estimates for cleaning them up run over $150 billion. Dev-

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astating health problems have already been documented downwind from the worst sites, such as Hanford, Washington; Savannah River, South Carolina; Fernald, Ohio; and Rocky Flats, Colorado.

As executive director of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, Stello has never favored regulation. While supervising the N.R.C.'s investigation into the accident at Three Mile Island, Stello omitted from reports to the Justice Department knowledge that crucial reactor test data had been fabricated. He turned over the data only after a dissident T.M.I. employee leaked the story to reporters. Stello later justified the suppression by saying its disclosure would have been bad for operator morale.

Stello also seriously undermined fire protection regulations adopted after a multimillion-dollar fire at Alabama's Brown's Ferry reactor in 1975 almost caused a meltdown. The fire was started by a worker who was inspecting the plant's wiring with a lit candle. The regulations were forced on the N.R.C. by the courts despite strenuous objections from utility companies. Stello then held a series of secret meetings with the utilities and mandated "interpretations" of the regulations that undermined their intent.

In 1985 Detroit Edison's Fermi 2 reactor suffered an unintentional startup, which the utility failed to report to regulators. Stello's staff intervened to prevent civil or criminal action and allowed Fermi's operating license to remain in effect.

Stello was embroiled in a six-month Congressional investigation of a slush fund he used to pay former nuclear worker Doug Ellison for incriminating evidence against a dissident N.R.C. inspector. Despite Ellison's criminal record, he was paid some $6,000 in cash by Stello's staff for testimony implying that N.R.C. inspector Roger Fortuna suppressed evidence of problems at a nuclear plant. Stello has long been at war with Fortuna, who has used his deputy directorship at the N.R.C.'s Office of Investigations to pursue utility shortcomings that Stello wants ignored.

In a bizarre related court case, Stello forced a subpoena on nuclear opponent Steven Comley of Rowley, Massachusetts. Comley has made national headlines by charging that as many as sixty nuclear reactors in the United States may have been built with substandard counterfeit parts. Ellison has said Comley has tapes of conversations that could compromise Fortuna. Stello wants the tapes—which may or may not exist—but Comley has refused to comply with the subpoena, has been fined thousands of dollars and faces jail. "What the N.R.C. is doing is trying to get more goods on Fortuna," says Michael Mariotte, executive director of the Washington-based Nuclear Information and Resource Service.

Stello's confirmation hearing will take place this fall before a subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee. Key committee member John Glenn has told his Ohio constituents that he will oppose the nomination. That could leave Stello's fate in the hands of committee chair Sam Nunn.

During Stello's two decades at the N.R.C. he was, as Representative Sam Gejdenson puts it, "consistently on the wrong side of every issue. . . . He stifled independent inquiry, and he was such a believer [in nuclear power] that he didn't have the temperament necessary to be a watchdog of the industry."

HARVEY WASSERMAN

Harvey Wasserman has been reporting on nuclear issues since 1973. His Harvey Wasserman's History of the United States *has just been republished (Four Walls Eight Windows).*

Mike Harrington

After a long, painful battle against cancer of the esophagus, Michael Harrington died on July 31. Representatives of democratic socialism all over the world regarded him not only as an inspiring partner in an ongoing dialogue and an untiring fighter for human rights, peace and international solidarity but also as an admired friend.

In reviewing the life of this great American scholar, politician and social critic, I need hardly mention his crucial contribution to the formulation and implementation of the 1960s War on Poverty of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. In what would become the characteristic way Michael influenced politics, he published the right book at the right moment—*The Other America: Poverty in the United States*, in 1962—affecting U.S. policy for the next decade. Last year, Senator Edward Kennedy paid tribute to the political impact an individual intellectual can have when he referred to Harrington as an "ancient biblical prophet railing against poverty and injustice, insisting that America must do better, persuading us that we can. Some people call it socialism. I call it the Sermon on the Mount."

From my own experience with Michael I would like to add that what made his sermon so convincing and so widely heard was that he delivered it with the persuasive argument of an analytical scholar. His intellectual approach, moral credibility and active political conscience were also the sources of Michael's great influence on the theoretical discussions of the Socialist International over a long period of time. As chair and later co-chair of the Democratic Socialists of America he played an outstanding role in the basic discussions and in the elaboration of policies of the Socialist International in the 1970s and 1980s. His advice was always sought and his arguments were always heard. He was welcomed as an inspiring interlocutor by leaders of the European Socialist parties, such as Olof Palme and Bruno Kreisky.

Many of the policies of the democratic socialist parties have been influenced to varying degrees by Michael's thinking. That is why he joked that socialists who had real power sometimes lost elections over what he wrote. Modest as he was, he forgot to add that sometimes they put into reality what he had visualized.

For almost a decade Michael was the *spiritus rector* of the commission that formulated the new Declaration of Principles for the Socialist International, adopted at the Stockholm congress this year. It was not a matter of course that a representative from the United States was credited to such a degree by democratic socialists from all parts of the

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world, poor and rich, European, Asian, Latin American and African, and that his leading role was recognized in an appropriate manner: Michael Harrington was unanimously elected honorary president of that worldwide organization of the democratic socialist parties.

One of the ideas that Michael ardently advocated in the last period of his life became crucial to the basic program of the Socialist International. Global political relations and the processes of the world economy have "socialized" the world in real terms. In order to maintain peace, to overcome ecological and economic crises and to further the cause of social justice all over the world, we now must replace, step by step, the prevailing anarchistic form of international regulation with a more deliberate and democratic one. Under the present circumstances we must visualize a democratic world society in order to create a peaceful and equitable world. Michael's legacy remains vivid and is a challenge for all of us. Thank you, Michael. WILLY BRANDT

Willy Brandt, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1969 to 1974, is president of the Socialist International.

UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

CALVIN TRILLIN

I suppose everyone had a nice warm feeling back when President Ronald Reagan officially apologized to the Japanese-Americans who had been held in detention camps during World War II and signed a bill awarding them each $20,000 in compensation. According to an article I read recently in *The New York Times*, though, a year has now passed and the government still hasn't paid anybody anything. I found that surprising. I had assumed that once the President signs a bill authorizing payment, all you have to do is wait for the paperwork to get done, and then checks start appearing in the mail—more or less the way your tax refund check appears, which is to say only a week or two after you needed it in the worst way.

Not so. First the money has to be appropriated. It would take $1.25 billion to pay everyone who has been found to be entitled to compensation. (The paperwork has been done.) In this year's budget, which Congress hasn't passed yet, President Bush has asked Congress to include $20 million for compensation to illegally detained Japanese-Americans. At that rate, according to my calculations, the last people to receive their payments will get their checks about 104 years after their release from the detention camps. Well, they say the Japanese are a patient people—even if, as in this case, the Japanese in question happen to be Americans.

I suppose waiting 104 years to pay people what you owe them is an example of what diplomatic correspondents mean when they use that phrase, "Washington has adopted a wait-and-see attitude." Actually, the whole system of not paying what you owe until it's appropriated is a general money-saver. I'm thinking of trying it with my dry-cleaning bill.

I suppose I would answer the first couple of statements from the dry cleaner with a polite note, something like, "After checking your statement and our receipts, our family has come to the conclusion that we definitely owe you the $87.25 you have billed us for dry cleaning. Congratulations. Please notify us if you'd like a ceremony. You will, of course, be notified when the money to pay this bill has been appropriated."

I think I could count on Mr. Warwick, who runs the dry-cleaning shop, to give me a call after that, and I'd have to explain how these things work—the budget process and the various compromises during committee hearings with my wife and, of course, the general policy of belt tightening because of the deficit around our house that some economists, including the one who works as a loan officer at our bank, find ominous.

According to the article I read, belt tightening is the reason that President Bush asked for only a tiny start on the money the government has decided we owe people for branding them as disloyal and imprisoning them behind barbed wire while their patriotic neighbors snapped up their property at knockdown prices. I suppose the theory is that under belt tightening you can't just pay out $1.25 billion all at once, since that is, according to the off-the-rack prices now being put on the Stealth bomber, the cost of almost three airplanes.

I would use the compensation situation as an example in explaining all of this to Warwick. "We're making a serious effort to cut back this year, Mr. Warwick," I'd tell him. "I'm hoping to get through a $25 appropriation for your bill this month, but the way my wife has been going over these things lately I have to tell you that it could die in committee."

From dealing with Warwick over the years, I know what he would say to that: "Are you telling me that you're not cutting down on dry cleaning, but you're cutting down on paying for it?"

"Precisely," I'd say. "You're beginning to catch on."

Now that the press has brought this matter to the attention of the people in Washington, of course, it's possible that the compensation will be paid at a somewhat faster pace. Maybe the White House will figure out a way to speed up the payments just enough so that the last people paid will get their checks precisely a hundred years after they were allowed to leave the detention centers. The people in the White House always have a nice touch with centennials.

Until then, it might be good public relations to dress up the payments a bit, maybe with the sort of ceremony we were planning to have for Warwick until he started that nasty talk about lawyers. Or maybe they could just send everyone who's owed money a fancy, official-looking certificate with an eagle and a crest and a motto. Not "*e pluribus unum.*" Maybe, "It's the thought that counts."

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MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

About two or three times a week in these exciting days, and perhaps two or three times a month over the past wretched decade, some charmer has come up to me and asked, as if minting the question for the first time, "Is Alexander Cockburn a Stalinist?" And I have always found it genuinely easy to say no. Alexander is a dashing and courageous foe of the diseased version of American anticommunism. Surveying the evidence of murder and depredation by empire and capital, he has refused the toadlike option of demonstrating anticommunist credentials before—or instead of—mounting a counterattack. This is not Stalinism on his part, and, what's more, I can prove it.

§ When I wrote a column in April of 1987 urging the Sandinistas to cease their absurd persecution of *La Prensa*, Cockburn accused me of trying to ingratiate myself with Elliott Abrams. (This is undoubtedly the foulest insult I've ever endured, at least in print, from a friend.) When, a few months later, the Sandinistas not only allowed *La Prensa* to be reopened but lifted all prior censorship of the paper, at least in principle, Cockburn did not criticize their decision or associate it with enmity to the revolution. Surely a Stalinist would have felt obliged to do so?

§ When I wrote a column a few weeks back about the stupidity of the Cuban ban on pro-*glasnost* Soviet publications, Cockburn jeered at my proximity to Jefferson Morley—now identified by William Bennett as the Jane Fonda of the drug war—and Stephen F. Cohen. But he did not defend the Cuban party's *diktat*, and wasted himself in a quibble over a Spanish translation whose original was rather more fiercely dogmatic than my piece had suggested. Arguably, a proper Stalinist would have had an opinion for or against a Cuban decision to censor Soviet output.

§ Replying to a perfectly polite letter from a decent-sounding reader named Michael S. Fox in *The Nation* of December 19, 1988, Cockburn snapped: "He can spare me the pieties about Kronstadt." A serious Stalinist knows how to imply that Kronstadt was the responsibility of Leon Trotsky, thus deftly turning the blade of the critic. Cockburn missed this trick, which suggests that he skipped basic training in the Stalin school of falsification as well.

§ In the course of the same exchange, Cockburn denounced the fine figure of Tariq Ali, a Pakistani socialist of some distinction, for his views on the invasions of Afghanistan and Czechoslovakia. (Interest declared, Tariq is a friend of mine and, I must say we both thought, of Cockburn's too.) "If I find a Czechoslovak socialist," said Cockburn witheringly, "I'll ask him why almost the first act of the Dubcek crowd was to end assistance to the Vietnamese." Here again, a true Stalinist would have avoided the cheap riposte and the half-truth and gone for the key assertion of West German revanchism, which never fails. Cockburn did not care to say whether he supported the obliteration of the "Dubcek crowd" or not. Admittedly, in the course of the same letters exchange, he did describe East Germany as an "economic success story . . . which has had a private sector since the war and *perestroika* for fifteen years." I have to confess that I don't know what the *perestroika* claim means here, but I feel safe in saying that Stalinists don't usually identify economic success with a strong private sector.

§ In a more recent exchange on the total number of Stalin's victims, Cockburn relied heavily on the support of a slightly oddball liberal Sovietologist named Jerry Hough, and quoted him with approval as follows:

> Lenin was the great extremist of 1917, and it is wrong to think that an extremist revolution is likely to have anything but very extreme and painful consequences for a people. Any fool can condemn a Stalin or a Pol Pot, but romantics who like a Lenin or a Bukharin (a man to the left of Lenin in 1917-18) are legitimating similar—and dangerous—revolutions in the future.

Well, I am almost ready to rest my case. To cite material of that order in one's own defense, and to permit the casual comparison of Lenin and even Bukharin to Pol Pot (a man whose attitude to the Vietnamese was if anything even more severe than Alexander Dubcek's) is to be completely clear of the charge of Stalinism. And talk about anticommunist credentials . . .

So, having found that he hasn't got what it might take to be a Commie, why does Cockburn have this continuing itch to lampoon democratic socialists and libertarian Marxists? It's almost as if he shares the general reactionary opinion of them as an insipid, timorous, appeasement-sodden breed—somehow not quite up to the demands of the struggle. This style, which had its uses in the late hysteria of Reaganism, is a wasting asset with a diminishing return. I'm tempted to say that history will judge those who are slave to antique reflexes and who respond best, or only, to cold war stimuli. But, in fact, history has already judged.

Recently, a Polish Solidarity newspaper, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, published a stern critique on the ghastly Cardinal Glemp for his quasi-fascist opinions. A few years ago the paper might not have done that because Glemp was identified as a foe of the "Communist" regime. Cockburn would probably have relished taunting the "dissidents" for their double standard, and would have been right to do so. But the necessary condition for a contest of principles to take place in Poland *at all* was the dissolution of the Stalin-Brezhnev system. No real politics can be developed from a nostalgia, however slight, for that discredited and thrice-dustbinned period. And every one of the backslidings that Cockburn detects in Gorbachevism—secret deals with reactionary elements in the West, concessions to market fetishism in the domestic economy, privileges for unelected elements, abandonment of praiseworthy liberation movements—was practiced with much more cynicism by its predecessors. Cockburn's lone efforts to be different about all this have led him into ridiculous inconsistencies because there is no core of principle at stake in the shifting positions he has found himself adopting. Chuck it, Cocky.

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ARTICLES.

LETTER FROM EUROPE

Solidarity—The Road to Power

DANIEL SINGER

For the next weeks and months the eyes of the world will be focused on Poland, where events are now unfolding at an unexpectedly dramatic pace. When I had lunch in Warsaw last May with Tadeusz Mazowiecki and we pondered the consequences of the forthcoming general election, I didn't think that three months later he would be forming the next Polish government and neither did he. The new situation raises a host of questions.

Clearly, the "revolution from above" brought to Eastern Europe by the Red Army after World War II was stuck. But now will it go full circle, ending in a capitalist restoration? Or can it be given a different conclusion? We also know that the Brezhnev Doctrine has been discarded by Brezhnev's successor. But how much change is General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev able to tolerate in his sphere of influence? Last but not least, Poland, for all its peculiarities—the powerful church, the numerous peasantry and the strong labor movement—is part of the family. At stake is the fate of the Stalinist heritage, and developments in Poland will affect other countries of Eastern Europe as well—especially the Soviet Union. We should, therefore, examine Poland's unfolding drama in all its specificity, keeping in mind this wider dimension.

But first, why did the plot suddenly quicken? Let us recall the scenario. Last autumn, after a series of strikes, the regime of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski decided that it had no chance of reforming the economy without popular support and opted for what was called at the time a "historic compromise." The terms for the introduction of the opposition into the system were worked out in a round-table conference. The Communist Party guaranteed itself a parliamentary majority by reserving two-thirds of the seats in the crucial lower house, or Sejm, for the ruling coalition (299 out of 460). Solidarity was allowed to compete for the remaining 161 seats, and for all of the 100 seats in the upper house, or Senat. The assumption was that if this form of coexistence worked for four years, then a genuine election for all seats would be allowed. This Fabian timetable has now been upset.

When Puppets Cease to Respond

Shortly before the round table, when some leaders of Solidarity revealed to me the proposed electoral deal, I argued that the party would never buy it. My conviction was based on the assumption that good elections discredit bad ones; that if an entirely free vote was allowed in part of the election, it would overshadow the entire poll. I was proved wrong. For whatever reasons, whether presumption or plain blunder, the Communist Party accepted the deal.

The landslide came in June. Solidarity captured ninety-nine seats in the Senat, whose members are elected by majority rule, not proportional representation, and all those to which it was entitled in the lower house. On paper, the ruling coalition still had a majority, but the arithmetic was already obsolete. The rubber-stamp Parliament suddenly came to life and even the puppets began to dance on their own. The C.P.'s once faithful and obedient allies—the United Peasant Party, with seventy-six seats, and the Democratic Party, with twenty-seven seats—could no longer be counted upon. With only 173 Communist representatives, not all of them reliable, the party had lost control of the situation. The new Constitution provides that a bill rejected by the Senat can become law only if approved in the lower house by a two-thirds majority. This the C.P. could no longer muster, so Solidarity had an effective veto.

Even in constituencies where it was not allowed to put up candidates, Solidarity could whisper to the voters whom they should favor among contenders from the Communist side. Above all, Peasant and Democratic party members were free to do their own thinking. When you bully and bribe your allies, you should not be astonished if they go for a better bid when the opportunity arises.

The new political arithmetic had an immediate effect. The president was to be elected by both houses together. General Jaruzelski scraped through, on July 19, by the grace of Solidarity. Having fulfilled its part of the bargain, the union found itself in a dilemma. With its effective veto in the legislature, it would be blamed by the people for whatever happened. Was it worthwhile to have responsibility without power? Hence Adam Michnik's slogan: "Their president—*our* prime minister." Bronislaw Geremek, the leader of the Solidarity group in Parliament, seemed to have doubts about a government in which Solidarity did not have full control. Then, while Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak was dragging his feet on forming a coalition, Lech Walesa surprised everyone by clinching a deal with the leaders of the Peasant and Democratic parties under which they would support a Solidarity candidate. And that is how, on August 24, Tadeusz Mazowiecki became Prime Minister.

A Party in Search of a Role

Why did General Jaruzelski accept this outcome? Possibly, once the movement was set in motion, he had little room for maneuver. Or he may have assumed that Solidarity would get bogged down in economic difficulties. Or it may have been the only way to get a large coalition, with Solidarity as a senior partner, since the union had refused to be a junior one. And as President, Jaruzelski retains control over the armed forces and the police, has a say in foreign affairs and, in principle, can dissolve Parliament. He therefore has some room for maneuver.

On the other hand, the party whose secretaryship he just

Daniel Singer is The Nation*'s Europe correspondent.*

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handed over to the former Prime Minister, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, is in a state of shock. How traumatic the experience of losing power is for the C.P. can only be understood by contrasting their system of rule with that in the West. In the capitalist world the wealthy have political influence because they are rich, not because they hold public office. In the Soviet world the apparatchik owes his relative privileges to his political position. If he loses it, he is deprived of everything. Remove the *nomenklatura*, i.e., those nominated to key jobs, from this system, and it is hollow.

The extent of the party's bewilderment may be gathered from the debate over its future now carried on in *Trybuna Ludu*, its official organ. There is a good sample in the August 17 issue. The author claims that to recover its leading role the party must replace ideology with pragmatism; run the country not according to capitalist or socialist rules but in keeping with economic principles; remove class barriers to membership "since our program now becomes attractive even for people living on capital." If it does all these things, how can the party still be considered left wing? The author's answer is that it will cushion the impact of the market on the weak and help them with social welfare programs. Still, he adds, the party should not forget that if it is open to all it should target "the dynamic, who are bearers of progress and development." May we take that to mean Poland's budding yuppie class?

This article, exaggerated in tone, conveys the mood of the party reformers, who quarrel among themselves not about the degree of socialism that their "social democratic" program should contain, but about the speed with which price controls should be abolished or about the degree of collaboration with Solidarity. Tomorrow they may fall apart over the role the *nomenklatura* should play in the privatization of Poland's industry.

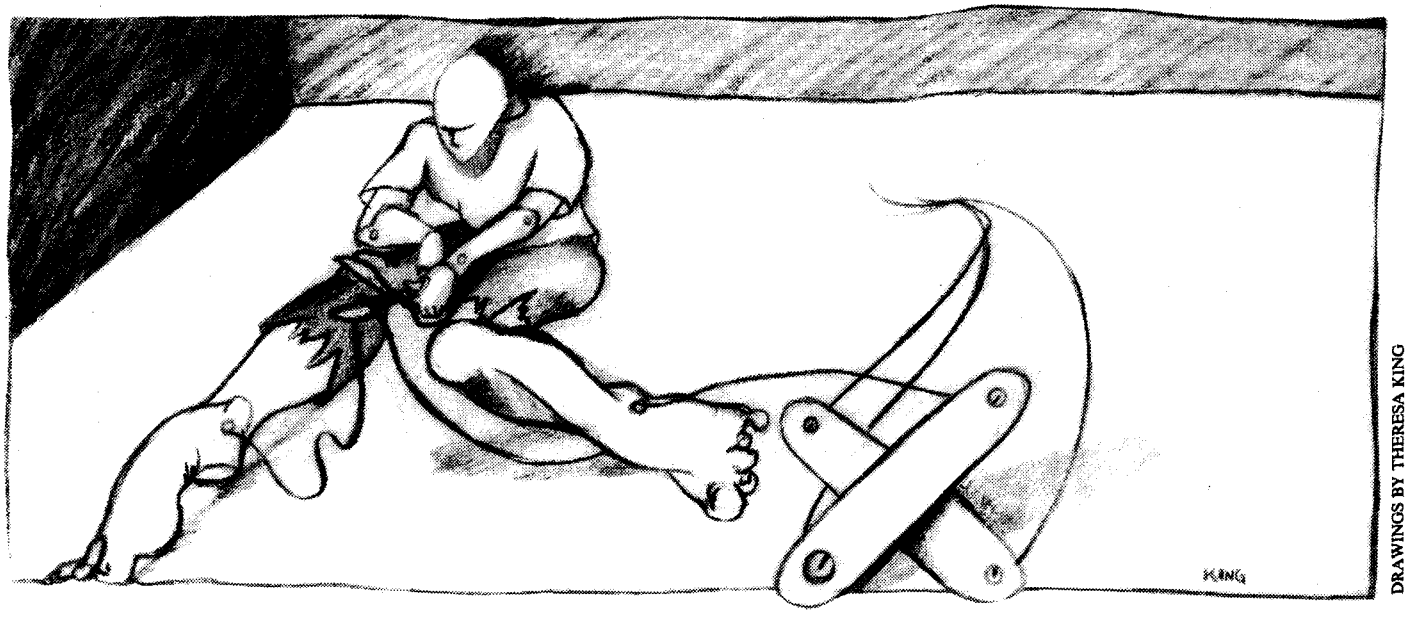
The so-called reformers, however, are not alone in the C.P. A recent meeting in Warsaw of party secretaries in big industrial plants revealed a mood of resentment against the leadership from the rank and file. Here are two examples of questions: "Whose interests is the party defending? Are they really those of the workers?" And: "In a free play of prices with whom is one playing and what chance do the workers have in this game?" One should add to this element the party members in the official trade union (known as O.P.Z.Z.), who are eager to consolidate their influence among the workers if Solidarity becomes a champion of social peace and opposes strikes.

In principle, a spell in opposition could, like taking the cure at a spa, give the party a much-needed slimming treatment. It now claims 2 million members, 1 million fewer than in 1980, and it would lose many more if it had no jobs to offer. Yet the prospect is that the party will be on the fringes of power rather than in the opposition. Given the program of the reformers, one cannot see why the party, already a discredited organization, should suddenly become the backbone of the Polish left. The party congress will reveal what line was chosen. It may also herald a split.

A Movement in Search of an Identity

If the party is divided by its defeat, Solidarity may well be split by its victory. To understand why, one must go back to the origins of the movement. Solidarity was born in a strike. At one stage, it was a huge trade union, numbering nearly 10 million members. Supported by the people, this working-class movement had the intelligentsia at its service. This was the moment, in November 1981, when the party leaders could have made a historic compromise with Solidarity and agreed to the formation of an upper house representing the revived workers' councils on a national scale. They chose to stage a military coup instead.

The party did this on purpose. It was eager to make a deal with the church, not with the workers. Indeed, its purpose was to break the alternative labor movement, and in this it half succeeded. The nature of the resistance shifted the center of gravity from the factory to the underground press, from the workers to the intelligentsia. The Catholic Church, negotiating with the government on the one hand, and providing shelter for the underground movement on the other, was also strengthening its position. This picture is both ac-



DRAWINGS BY THERESA KING

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curate and inaccurate. In a sense, the workers did remain the backbone of the movement, the *solid* in Solidarity. Early last year most people were burying Solidarity. It took two waves of strikes to resurrect it and force the government to negotiate. Now the situation is reversed. The intelligentsia are walking in the corridors of power and the labor union has fewer than 2 million members.

It may be objected that it takes time to rebuild a union. Possibly. The snag is that the policies envisioned by the new government could hurt the union. If, in its search for capitalist efficiency, the government just tells the workers to tighten their belts; if, in its quest for privatization or foreign capital, it allows the spread of nonunion enterprises and no-strike agreements; if, in short, the movement that was born to assert the workers' right to autonomous representation is ordered to toe another line—then the gap between government and union will be too wide even for Lech Walesa to close. The workers are not unaware of the gravity of the economic situation, but they must be offered something to justify any further sacrifices they are required to make.

Solidarity, too, must hold a congress in the near future. It is now living on borrowed democracy, with a charismatic leader revealing great political savvy, with labor leaders and political advisers who have shown their mettle but were elected or chosen long ago, with even the parliamentary candidates chosen by the leadership. True, the candidates subsequently received a mandate from the people (unless we interpret the general election as a vote of no confidence in their predecessors). But Solidarity must now hear the views and accept the verdict of its rank and file.

The next Solidarity congress will have to deal with the unanswered question: Does the labor union want to create a labor party, as in Britain, to represent its interests, or does it want to remain a union, allowing its members to express their political opinions through the various parties that will be set up? In this battle, cleavages will appear not only between unionists and politicians, but also among various factions, with the Reaganauts and the social democrats prevailing. It will be interesting to learn how loud the voices calling for self-management in the workplace will be in this chorus.

Under the Shadow of Cardinal Glemp

Solidarity's split personality will be one handicap for the new Prime Minister; the shadow of the church may be another. Surprisingly, Tadeusz Mazowiecki was picked as Prime Minister partly because, of all the serious candidates, he was the only Catholic intellectual. However, living with Poland's powerful church is a problem, and its present Primate is quite a phenomenon. Józef Cardinal Glemp's recent anti-Semitic outbursts over the Carmelites in Auschwitz should not really come as a surprise.

Glemp is what the Poles call an *endek*, an allusion to a reactionary party, the National Democracy, which in the interwar years pandered to the nationalism of the middle classes. The party was not in favor of the extermination of Jews, but simply of using all possible legal means to expel them. The Cardinal has no love for "atheistic communism," though he knows how to render unto Caesar. He has no love for Solidarity either, particularly for its lay left wingers. He would prefer to have a reactionary Christian Democracy and a union to boot.

In fairness, it must be added that the church cannot in its entirety be identified with the Primate. It must also be stressed that anti-Semitism is completely alien to Mazowiecki, who, as a progressive Catholic, is miles away from being an *endek*. He nevertheless still has to prove that he can govern independently of the church.

Eastern Neighbor, Western Money

In one field the new government's situation is much better than in the past, namely, in its relations with Poland's eastern neighbor. Eight years ago the very appointment of Mazowiecki might have been considered an act of war. Recently, the nomination of this "man from outside the *nomenklatura*" was greeted without antipathy by the Soviet press. It is true that the new Prime Minister went out of his way to please. He suggested that the political change presented an opportunity to improve relations not just between parties but between two societies. He expressed his backing for *perestroika* and his hope that other countries in Eastern Europe would also be reassured by his policies. He solemnly proclaimed that his government had no intention of leaving the Warsaw Pact. All seems quiet on the eastern front.

If there is a threat of intervention in Polish affairs it comes from the West. This sounds paradoxical since the Poles are complaining that the West does not interfere enough (Poland's friends should come to the rescue before we begin to drown, pleaded Mazowiecki). The illusions about a Marshall Plan for Poland have vanished. Wits are saying that Cardinal Glemp will soon blame the Jewish lobby for this failure.

More seriously, it is not true that the West is uninterested in the Eastern markets. Capital is not sentimental and it travels on its own terms. It will invade Eastern Europe when it finds it profitable. If, to attract foreign investment, a Solidarity-sponsored government obeys the *diktat* of the International Monetary Fund at the risk of a break with its own constituency, then Western capital will be interfering in Poland, if only by proxy.

In Dubious Battle

This is the situation that Mr. Mazowiecki inherits: The

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country is heavily in debt. Its youth want to emigrate. The economy has the worst of both worlds. It has the lines, the paperwork and the bad distribution of a "planned" system, and the conspicuous consumption, profiteering and tax evasion of a capitalist one, without having the advantages of either. This obviously cannot go on.

But the new Prime Minister also has some assets: the memory of the old days of Solidarity; the people's need to recover hope and their relative trust in leaders with clean hands; the promise of Lech Walesa to insure peace on the labor front for the next six months; and relative good will both in Moscow and the Western capitals.

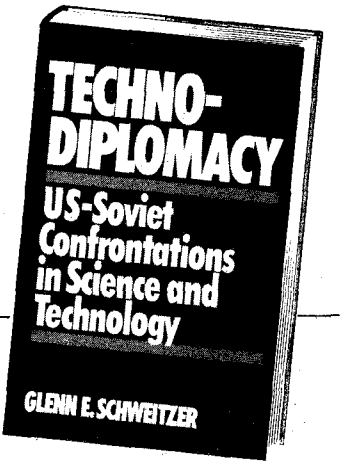
Who is the man embarking on this risky and unprecedented venture? Sixty-two-year-old Tadeusz Mazowiecki is a tortured Catholic intellectual, a man with great personal integrity and a stubborn will. A lawyer by training and a journalist by profession, he began his collaboration with the Communist regime under the not very good auspices of the Catholic Pax organization. But he rapidly switched and founded a monthly, *Wiez* ("The Link"), a journal for people who were trying to reconcile socialism and Christianity. He was always a man of principle. In 1968 he protested against the anti-Semitic campaign. Three years later he tried to set up a commission of inquiry into the massacre of workers in Gdansk. This was too much for the government, and it put an end to his ten years as a parliamentarian. Afterward he led the life of an oppositionist, helping hunger strikers and teaching at the "flying university"—lectures on history and politics by dissident teachers in private homes. His great moment came during the strike of 1980, when he inspired a petition of support from intellectuals and then presided over the commission of "experts" helping the strike committee. The close association between him, Geremek and Walesa dates from then. He spent a year in detention after the coup and then resumed his work for Solidarity. Last year he was one of the very rare intellectuals to be found among the Gdansk strikers.

And yet in his investiture speech, he proclaimed: "The long-term, strategic aim of the action of this government will be the recovery by Poland of economic institutions known for a long time and verified. By this I understand a return to the market economy and to a role of the state approaching the one prevailing in the economically developed countries." This needs no code. It says in plain language—our objective is a return to capitalism.

Which brings me to a sad personal note. Nine years ago I traveled to Poland to greet the extraordinary re-entry onto the political stage of Polish workers "presenting their interests as the superior interests of society as a whole," as Marx said. They were coming straight out of Marx, I argued, but I was honest enough to add that they were anything but Marxist; indeed, when it came to building socialism in Poland they were like Molière's M. Jourdain, talking prose without knowing it.

It turns out that unconscious construction is inadequate. After an early move toward worker self-management, in recent years the trend has been in the opposite direction, toward capitalism. And this is the direction in which the

East meets West



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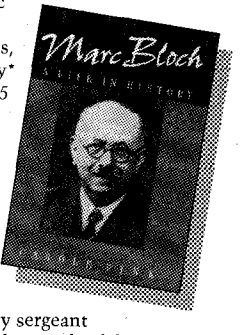

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Andy Scherer, Coordinator, Attorneys in Housing Law Community Action for Legal Services

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man who once wanted to reconcile Christianity with socialism now wants to take Poland.

Yet where there is a will, there is not always a way. My hopes today, less sanguine than nine years ago, are linked not with the policy of Solidarity but with its contradictions. They are still linked with the inventive capacity for resistance of the Polish workers, because the saga of Solidarity, if we mean by that the Polish labor movement, is still unfinished. □

THE COURT NEXT TERM

Consolidating The New Majority

HERMAN SCHWARTZ

"The counterrevolution that wasn't" is how the Supreme Court was characterized by Professor Vincent Blasi of Columbia Law School ten years after Richard Nixon succeeded in reshaping it. That characterization no longer holds. The counterrevolution has begun.

In the past term, one marked by a plethora of momentous issues, the three Reagan appointees joined with Chief Justice William Rehnquist and the now consistently reactionary Byron White to strike repeatedly at gains achieved in the past thirty years by victims of discrimination in the workplace, battered children, women, the elderly, the handicapped, criminal defendants, prisoners, subjects of drug testing and many others. They did not hesitate to twist statutory language, brush aside logical implications, scorn the legislative will as reflected in legislative history and plain meaning, and either ignore or overturn precedent [see Schwartz, "Illogical Force," *The Nation*, July 10].

And the counterrevolution can be expected to continue in the upcoming term. Most closely watched will be three abortion cases involving laws imposing restrictions on clinics performing first-trimester abortions that are as stringent as those on hospitals performing surgery, and requiring parental notification by minors seeking abortions.

The Court will also hear some capital punishment cases and the usual large number of criminal cases. A prisoner's right not to be forced to take antipsychotic drugs will be considered by the Court, as will a family's right to cut off food and water to someone in a permanently vegetative state. The Yonkers housing cases will also be on the docket, testing the power of a Federal judge to overcome the refusal of City Council members to honor the settlement of a housing desegregation case, a settlement that the Council had earlier approved. A somewhat related issue will be before the Court in a case from Kansas City, Missouri, testing

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whether a Federal court can order a property tax increase to finance school desegregation when the state and local officials will not or cannot. And the Court will also consider the 1988 Federal statute that requires high schools receiving Federal funds to recognize religious clubs if they recognize other kinds of noncurriculum-related groups.

In the Court's last term the main target was civil rights. The case of *Patterson v. McLean Credit Union* is a good example of the new majority's method. In 1968, the Court ruled 7 to 2 that a section of the 1866 Civil Rights Act barred private discrimination in housing. Because the act applied to other kinds of contracts as well, it was assumed that it also banned discrimination in the making and enforcement of all other private contracts. In 1976, with the support of an amicus curiae brief by then-Solicitor General Robert Bork, the Burger Court made this explicit in *Runyon v. McCrary*. Congress, the Supreme Court and the lower courts continued to apply the act to private contracts for the next thirteen years.

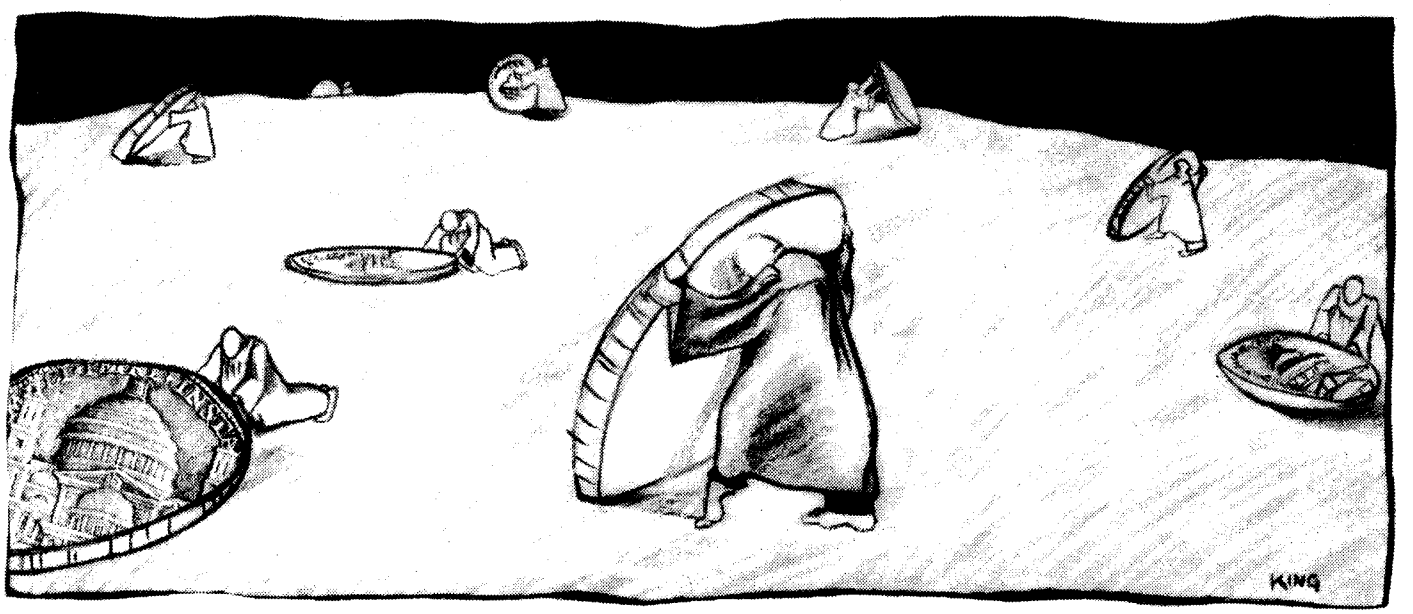
The *Patterson* case raised the question of whether the 1866 act covers racial harassment on the job; neither party in the case questioned the applicability of the statute to private discrimination. Nevertheless, the five decided to have the Court consider overruling *Runyon*, reportedly at the suggestion of Justice Antonin Scalia, the most aggressive conservative on the Court. More than twenty years of anti-discrimination law was put into doubt.

The decision to reconsider *Runyon* ignited a firestorm of protest. Amicus curiae briefs calling for reaffirmation of the 1976 decision poured into the court clerk's office, including one from a bipartisan group of sixty-six senators and 118 representatives. The conservatives backed down. In a grudging opinion by Justice Anthony Kennedy that avoided any approval of the decision but simply recited the standard reasons for following precedent—all of which were obvious from the start—the majority decided not to overrule *Runyon*. It did what it could, however, to weaken the 1866 law.

First, the Court ruled that the law's ban on discrimination in the making and enforcement of contracts did not extend to racial harassment, despite the legislative history cited by Justice William Brennan in his dissent; this history clearly showed that in 1866 Congress meant to cover all types of discriminatory behavior in contractual relations. Kennedy then narrowed the statute's coverage of promotions to include only those that "rise to the level of an opportunity for a new and distinct relationship between the employer and the employee," whatever that means. For this creative reading, so different from the wooden literalism that he displayed with respect to the racial harassment issue, Kennedy cited no Congressional, judicial or other authority.

Even more damaging to the civil rights cause were rulings in which the Court dealt a severe blow to state and local programs setting aside a certain percentage of public contracts for minority businesses (*City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co.*) and made it far more difficult for employees to prove discrimination (*Wards Cove Packing Co. v. Atonio*). The Court also allowed white males who choose not to participate in a discrimination suit to come forward many years later to try to upset whatever victory or compromise may have been ultimately achieved (*Martin v. Wilks*). This last decision will discourage employers from voluntarily settling such suits, since such settlement agreements will not be definitive.

The minority set-aside decision, written by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, reveals the hollowness of the conservatives' frequently proclaimed deference to the popular will and allegiance to states' rights. It imposed a judicially created constitutional cloud over set-aside programs adopted by elected officials in some 190 cities and towns and thirty-six states. The decision was also patently inconsistent with a 1980 ruling upholding Federal set-aside programs, which O'Connor lamely tried to explain away. In a particularly offensive passage, she virtually equated affirmative action programs adopted by cities like Richmond, which has a black legislative majority, with the racial discrimination practiced against blacks. As Justice Thurgood Marshall complained in his dissent, the Court apparently saw no difference between "governmental actions that themselves are



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racist, and governmental actions that seek to remedy the effects of prior racism."

In one sex discrimination case involving an accountant denied a partnership at Price Waterhouse, allegedly for sexist reasons, the Court by a 6-to-3 majority did favor a civil rights plaintiff. The decision is of relatively minor importance, however, even though it stirred up a good deal of interest.

Civil rights cases were not the only target of the Rehnquist bloc. In almost all the many major controversies before the Court last term, they voted as a unit. Statistics compiled by Marsha Coyle of the *National Law Journal* show that White and Kennedy voted with Rehnquist 90 percent of the time, and Scalia and O'Connor were with him 85 percent of the time. In the noncriminal cases, Kennedy and Scalia were with Rehnquist 94 percent of the time, and White and O'Connor 91 percent and 85 percent, respectively. Kennedy voted with Scalia 98 percent of the time in the civil cases, continuing the pattern of the previous term. As a result, Rehnquist was able to prevail in twenty-five of the thirty-two 5-to-4 decisions, a sharp turnabout from Powell's last term, when the Rehnquist bloc prevailed in only twenty out of forty-five decisions. The difference was of course Kennedy, who was in the majority twenty-eight out of thirty-two times, more than anyone else.

The two most notorious of these narrow decisions were, of course, the flag-burning and abortion cases. Neither broke any new legal ground but both set off political earthquakes. The constitutional law governing the flag case (*Texas v. Johnson*) was so clear, despite the almost ludicrously overheated rhetoric of the Rehnquist dissent, that Scalia and Kennedy were part of the five-justice majority. (Edwin Meese's Solicitor General Charles Fried did not even enter the case.) The furor over the decision, fueled by the same people who turned Willie Horton and the pledge of allegiance into useful campaign issues, seems to have died down somewhat. It may erupt again, however. Although the House Democrats managed to vote through a statute banning flag desecration in an attempt to head off a constitutional amendment, Senator Joseph Biden surprisingly agreed to a vote by the full Senate next month on a constitutional amendment overturning the decision, and House majority leader Tom Foley has had to allow a floor vote as well. George Bush and Lee Atwater are not likely to forgo such a tempting opportunity to vex the Democrats.

The abortion decision was also something of a legal non-event. As Justice Harry Blackmun noted in his dissent, the Court did not make a "single, even incremental, change in the law of abortion," and O'Connor showed an unusual restraint in criticizing the trimester system, which her four other conservative allies lambasted [see Schwartz, "Sandra's Day," *The Nation*, August 7/14]. How the Court decides the parental notification and clinic regulation cases this term will probably tell us much about the future of a woman's right to an abortion. Although O'Connor is unlikely to vote to overrule *Roe v. Wade*, adverse rulings in those cases would make it much harder for young and/or poorer women to exercise that right.

The *Johnson* case was one of the few civil liberties victories in an otherwise grim year, and if it results in a constitutional amendment, it could be a Pyrrhic one. Other victories of lesser importance included favorable decisions on attorneys' fees for civil rights lawyers, a decision denying religious magazines a special tax exemption, which split the Court three ways, and a partial victory against official use of religious symbols like a crèche or a menorah. One of the more significant aspects of the latter two cases is that they confirmed what became apparent last term: Kennedy will try to break down the wall of separation between church and state, and until another conservative Justice is seated, O'Connor will be the swing vote.

In other areas, the conservatives also held together, sometimes picking up Blackmun or Stevens. In one of their most shocking rulings, the five held that nothing in the Constitution prevents a state from executing a prisoner with an I.Q. of between 55 and 63 and a mental age of 6½. What notions of deterrence or retribution could justify executing such unfortunates? The majority also ruled that the Constitution allows the execution of someone who kills at the age of 16 or 17. According to Scalia, there is no national consensus on executing 16- and 17-year-old murderers and the Court should not act without one, even though, as the four dissenters noted, thirty states (if one includes those with no capital punishment) don't allow such executions.

The conservatives carried on the Burger Court's tradition of trashing the Fourth Amendment right to be free of arbitrary government intrusion and the Fifth Amendment right against unfair interrogation. In *Florida v. Riley*, a 5-4 majority found that an individual who put up a greenhouse in the middle of a five-acre open plot, erected a wire fence around it, covered it on all four sides and on the top and posted a "Do Not Enter" sign was not entitled to any constitutional protection against a police surveillance helicopter hovering 400 feet over his property. O'Connor protested but, as usual, particularly in criminal cases, went along. In *Duckworth v. Eagan*, the Court, again by a 5-4 margin, allowed the police to get away with patently misleading an accused concerning his right to assigned counsel during interrogation. The conservative majority also ruled that when police negligently destroy evidence that might exonerate a defendant, he has no recourse unless he can prove they did it in "bad faith," a virtually impossible task (*Arizona v. Youngblood*). In another 5-4 decision the Court ruled that defendants charged under the Racketeer

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Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO)—a potentially huge group, as this Draconian catchall statute is used against an increasing variety of people—will not be able to hire lawyers of their choice because prosecutors will be able to freeze all their assets before trial (*Caplin and Drysdale v. United States*). And defendants on death row are not entitled to have lawyers appointed for them in habeas corpus and other post-conviction proceedings, even though those proceedings often expose serious trial errors (*Murray v. Giarrantano*).

The Court also upheld the Reagan Administration's random drug-testing programs for Customs Service employees and railway workers because the government's "compelling interest" overrode the right to privacy (*National Treasury Employees Union v. Von Raab*). And prisoners again felt the hostility that the Court has displayed toward them so consistently in recent years. In *Thornburgh v. Abbott*, the Court allowed prison officials almost a free hand in limiting what publications prisoners may receive from the outside, brushing aside a fifteen-year precedent on the related issue of prison mail that seemed to be working very well. In *Kentucky Department of Corrections v. Thompson*, the Court curtailed a prisoner's right to challenge unfair visiting rules.

Obviously, the sharp turnabout from two years ago is at least partly the result of the replacement of Justice Lewis Powell by Anthony Kennedy. Powell was a conservative judge with many liberal impulses, whereas Kennedy seems to have precious few. Was the Bork fight therefore a mistake? Would we have done just as well or as badly with him on the Court?

Perhaps, but it must be remembered that there were really two aspects to the Bork fight. There was of course the question of Bork himself getting on the Court, and despite his record this year, Kennedy may turn out to be a better Justice. He is, after all, new to most of these issues, and it does happen—though far less often than popular mythology would have it—that Justices change over time. On the current Court, Blackmun has obviously moved toward the liberals, and White toward the conservatives. Equally important, the Bork fight became a virtual plebiscite on the kind of Court and Constitution the nation wanted. It was important to win that fight, if only to help persuade Congress and the state legislatures to overturn adverse Supreme Court decisions. The irony is that, although liberals won that issue, a combination of post-Bork senatorial weariness and soothing assurances by Kennedy at his confirmation on such matters as affirmative action resulted in an outcome that has given the nation the kind of Court that it rejected.

One thing is clear: The Court cannot be relied on to protect civil rights and civil liberties. At best, it will be neutral and at worst it will be hostile, as this past term's cases show. There will have to be increasing reliance on the legislative branches, and though Congress has come through a surprising number of times, it has often done so only after a long struggle. Even when Congress or state or local legislatures do act, this year's decisions show that the current Supreme Court majority is not hesitant to undermine what they try to accomplish. There may be some very hard times ahead. □

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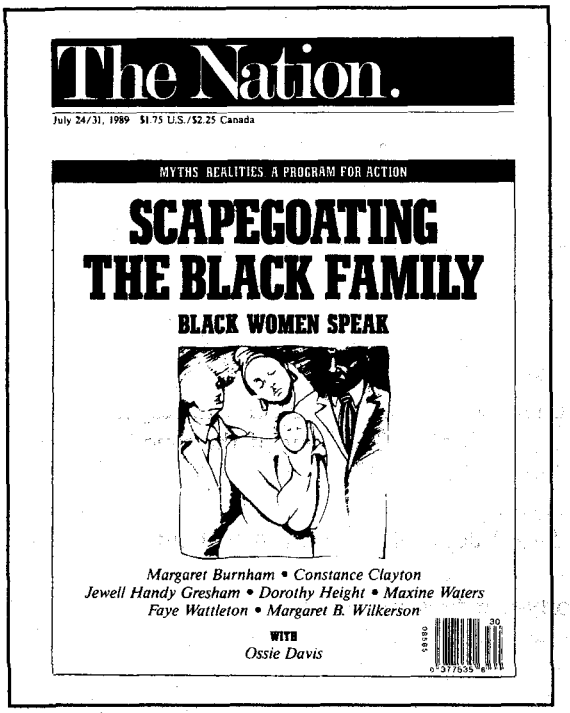
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TWO BATTLES, TWO WARS

Stalemate at Jalalabad

EQBAL AHMAD

The Islamic mujahedeen's full-scale assault on Jalalabad began on March 6, three weeks after the last Soviet soldiers left Afghanistan. On March 8, Sibghatullah Mujaddidi, the president-elect of the Interim Islamic Government of Afghanistan, announced that his cabinet would convene there in three days. More than seven months later, the struggle over the historic city continues. It could become bloodier. During June, July and August, when the fighting was light, the United States sent vast quantities of heavy weapons to the mujahedeen.

It is a costly, merciless battle. Western journalists who have visited Jalalabad have reported on the devastation caused by mujahedeen rocket and mortar attacks. John Burns of *The New York Times* found the city "a sad, crumbling shell," alive with "blossoms of mimosa, jasmine, and bougainvillea." "But little else," he wrote, "resembled the Jalalabad of prewar years, a city celebrated for its palaces, orchards and gardens." Less visible than the rubble are the dead: an estimated 12,000 to 15,000 killed since the assault began. Mujahedeen deaths alone are believed to be 4,000. Across the border, in Peshawar, Pakistan, hospitals that I visited in April were so crowded with the wounded that tents had to be erected outside. Since the Soviet withdrawal, another 100,000 Afghans have joined the more than 3 million refugees there.

Destruction of cities is not uncommon in our time, but only rarely have people destroyed their own cities. In wars of liberation, patriotic forces are known to have taken special risks to safeguard their country's heritage and resources. Irrespective of whether Jalalabad capitulates, its ruin has already discredited both those who ordered and those who executed the attack.

We leave, for now, the question of who gave the order. It is more important to ask why the siege has lasted longer and proved bloodier than the experts had predicted. Some analysts have blamed the lack of unity of purpose and command among the mujahedeen. They have also pointed to such "mistakes" as the wholesale slaughter of prisoners and defectors—actions that have stiffened the resolve of the defenders. Pakistani and American officials, who are responsible for the mujahedeen, do not dispute these claims but offer what they call a more fundamental explanation for the stalemate. Pakistan's Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yakub Khan, himself a reputed former general, told the BBC on March 22 that the type of tactic required for set-piece battles "does not come naturally to guerrillas." The "mujahedeen had to come up with fixed defenses, mine fields, dug-in tanks . . . and were subjected to bombs and rocket attacks which they were unable to deal with." Two weeks after the siege of Jalalabad had begun, I spoke to Gen. Hamid Gul, then head of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence, which has been advising and arming the mujahedeen. He too impressed upon me the alleged limitations of guerrilla fighters. The mujahedeen, he said, needed time to adjust to the exigencies of conventional warfare.

Purely as explanations of the mujahedeen's failure to knock out government forces quickly, despite considerable deployment of fire power, these statements have some truth. But as general commentaries on guerrilla warfare they belong to the nineteenth century, when Spanish irregulars led by Francisco Mina harassed Napoleon's army without defeating it. Liberation then was ultimately achieved by conventional armies. This view of guerrillas was reinforced during World War II, when Italian partisans and French Resistance fighters sabotaged Mussolini's and Hitler's forces but could not mount battalion-sized attacks. In our time, however, the guerrilla army is also the army of liberation, and so the standard of comparison arises not from the European battlefield but from the fighting grounds of revolution. What comes to mind is Dien Bien Phu, and its memory offers lessons for those who would wish to understand Jalalabad.

History has rarely recorded a victory more dramatic, decisive and momentous. The 10,000 men, French and Vietminh, who died at Dien Bien Phu "may have done more to shape the fate of the world than the soldiers at Agincourt, Waterloo or Stalingrad," concluded Bernard Fall in his classic history of the battle. Among its many consequences—the start in November 1954 of the Algerian war of liberation, France's eventual exit from NATO's military command, the beginning of the U.S. war in Vietnam—Dien Bien Phu put to rest the myth that guerrilla forces are ill-suited for set-piece battles.

In seven years of classical guerrilla fighting, the Vietminh had nearly depleted France's treasury, costing it $11 billion by the end of 1953, when Gen. Henri-Eugène Navarre, the French commander in chief, decided to lure them into a conventional showdown. The assumption was that a war of siege "does not come naturally to guerrillas." Vo Nguyen Giap, the Vietminh commander, watched as the French dug in with their tanks and mortars, laid the mines, stocked the bunkers and mobilized the air force to support their ground troops. Then, on March 13, 1954, he attacked.

The strangulation lasted only six weeks; by April's end, 13,000 well-armed French forces were huddled within two square miles of the fortress. For the colonial army, in the words of Fall, Dien Bien Phu had become "hell in a very small place." Gen. Christian de la Croix de Castries appealed insistently but in vain to the United States for aerial intervention. On May 7, 1954, he came out of his bunker and, with 10,000 of the surviving men under his command, surrendered to the Vietnamese.

Strictly in military terms, the mujahedeen outside Jalalabad are at a considerable advantage compared with the

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Vietminh at Dien Bien Phu. In all battles, especially those involving siege, logistics have primary importance, and the Vietminh faced a logistical nightmare. Their supply lines extended across 600 miles of uncharted jungle, swamps and rivers. Along those lines tens of thousands of volunteers hurriedly built a network of roads and ferries that were hazardous for the Vietminh's Soviet Molotova trucks; hence, bicycles became the mainstay of the supply system. With their seats replaced by bamboo sticks, each one carried up to 400 pounds. The French Air Force was able to concentrate its interdiction raids on this well-circumscribed and arduous route, yet in the course of the battle, these "liberation trucks" delivered 6,286 tons of weapons, food and gasoline to the fighters in the mountain redoubts. Another 2,000 tons were consumed by the carriers. The French received daily supplies: in the end, a total of 6,900 tons for a force one-third the guerrillas' size. This was considerably more than besieged forces had received anywhere in World War II, including Stalingrad.

In Afghanistan only about fifty miles of paved highway separate the mujahedeen's supply sources inside Pakistan from the Jalalabad front. Transport vehicles are plentiful and move easily; there is little interdiction by the enemy's air force and none by its commando units. By contrast, Kabul has difficulty keeping its forces supplied. The mujahedeen have intermittently closed the Kabul-Jalalabad road and shut the airport; helicopter landings and airdrops are rendered hazardous by ground fire, especially from the deadly Stinger missiles.

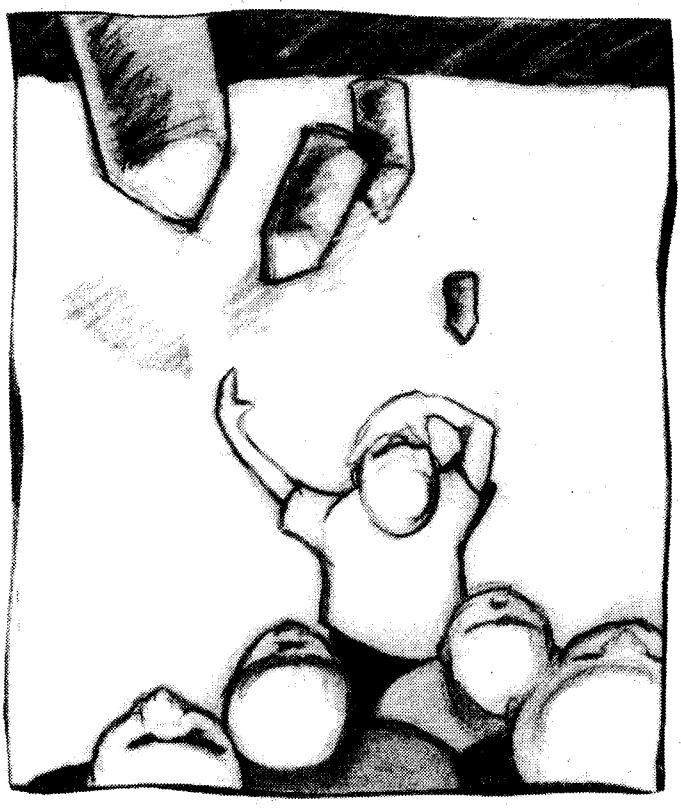
It might be argued that this logistical advantage is more than offset by a balance of forces that does not favor the mujahedeen. There is a rule of thumb that for a successful siege the attackers ought to outnumber their enemy by a minimum of 3 to 1. At Dien Bien Phu more than 60,000 Vietminh guerrillas surrounded the 16,000 French forces. In Jalalabad the ratio is extremely lopsided: The government's forces are estimated at about 20,000, and the mujahedeen's have fluctuated between 6,000 and 12,000. However, given their lack of coordination, a more favorable ratio may not have helped the mujahedeen. Early during the siege, when volunteers swelled their numbers, the confusion was great and the casualties were higher. "It is not an army; it is a mob outside Jalalabad," said one man wounded in the second week of fighting. Since then the mob has been subjected to some military discipline, but the number of volunteers has declined, suggesting that either the spirit of *jihad* has dampened or, as the expectation of victory fades, the hopes of *maali-ghaneemat*, or booty, have dimmed among the characteristically poor refugee-volunteers.

Still, what is lost in manpower is consistently accommodated by the sophisticated destructiveness of the mujahedeen's weaponry. By contemporary standards and in comparison with the adversary, the Afghan rebels are better equipped than were the Vietminh. They have excellent weapons, including the latest model Kalashnikovs and M-16s, RPG-7 antitank rockets, highly accurate artillery and antiaircraft batteries. The mujahedeen are brave and intuitive fighters. Their weaknesses lie in the political, not the military, domain. The strength of the Vietminh, by contrast, lay not in the quality of their arms but in their standing with the masses, their political organization and strategic planning.

Here we begin to unravel the riddle posed by Jalalabad's endurance. In sponsoring the war in Afghanistan, American advocates of the doctrine of "low-intensity conflict" have once again ignored the lessons of Mao Tse-tung, who rewrote the theory and practice of revolutionary war, distinguishing it from simple guerrilla warfare. Wars of national liberation, he argued, involve four stages of development: essentially, organizing, ambush, encirclement and assault. Revolutionary guerrillas organize politically; they delegitimize and outadminister the enemy before starting to outfight it. To gain support for the revolutionary movement, they set up participatory and governing structures among people and provide needed services in health, education and arbitration through institutions parallel and superior to those of the government. After isolating it politically and administratively, they begin to push the government out physically by guerrilla tactics. Eventually, they encircle the cities and the government's other strategic strongholds; then they assault and liberate them.

The West at first denied the universality of Mao's theoretical contribution. In 1948 the successes of the People's Liberation Army were ascribed to China's special circumstances: the unpopularity and corruption of the Kuomintang, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, political fragmentation, warlords and the country's unique size and population. From Algeria to Indochina, humanity paid a heavy price for that denial.

Now in Afghanistan, the Islamic resistance leaders have, by and large, skipped the first and last stages of revolu-



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tionary development. There are said to be exceptions; the most frequently cited is Ahmad Shah Massoud, a commander in the Panjshir region who has organized politically and divided his forces into units under a coordinated command. However, Massoud belongs to the minority Tajik ethnic group and does not have a significant following among the majority Pushtuns. Abdul Haq, a Pushtun commander active in the Logar-Kabul area, is also reported to have developed rudiments of the required structure of support. It is difficult, though, to estimate these commanders' capabilities. Both have a flair for public relations. Both have been promoted by their Western sympathizers: Massoud is a favorite of the European, especially French, connections of the mujahedeen; Abdul Haq is favored by the Americans. In any case, a few good commanders divided by personal ambition, geography and ethnicity are not likely to ally strategically. Typically, neither of the two has participated in the siege of Jalalabad.

The costs of ignoring the political task of establishing organic links between the resistance movement and the institutions of civil society—tribes, villages, urban communities—have also been revealed in Jalalabad. The tribes that live around Jalalabad do not actively support the mujahedeen. In some instances, tribal groups that hitherto had participated in the *jihad* are now cooperating with Kabul. Firdows Khan Mohmand is a case in point. Formerly associated with the fundamentalist Hizb-e Islami Party of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, his militia has become friendly, since November 1988, with Kabul. "Like many others in Afghanistan," one Afghan friend remarked to me in Peshawar, "he has the common wisdom of his people." Several other chiefs, from the Mohmand, Shinwari, Khugiani and Safi tribes, have also reached accommodation with the government.

More ominous for the mujahedeen organizations, the pattern of defection is duplicated elsewhere. For nine years the Afghan people rallied around the call for *jihad* against the Soviet military intervention. But beyond generalized promises of an Islamic state, the resistance organizations offered no positive or consistent vision that could motivate the population. The "Islamic polity" did not materialize in the liberated areas even in its most basic forms. Rather, as victory approached, mujahedeen behavior became positively un-Islamic. More than seventy Afghans were murdered near Torkham last November after they had surrendered to the Hizb-e Islami; a similar incident occurred in March soon after the battle for Jalalabad had begun. From the provincial capitals taken by the mujahedeen—Asadabad, Kunduz and Maidan (the last two recaptured by the government)—one hears shocking stories of excess, indiscipline and infighting. During July and August alone, more than 300 persons were killed in a conflict between the Hizb-e Islami and the Jamiat-e Islami parties. My conversations with Afghans in Peshawar and in the refugee camps indicated that since March the number of rebel volunteers has steadily dropped. "The *jihad*," said Hasan Kakar, an Afghan academic who had spent years in the government's prisons, "has now lost its meaning."

It might be said that this development was inevitable so long as everyone involved in Afghanistan ignored the central assumption of Mao's theory: that the fulfillment of revolutionary tasks requires the sovereignty of the liberation movement, its independence from foreign powers. Washington's goals for Afghanistan—rebel seizure of power, dissolution of present army and bureaucracy—appear revolutionary. "It is necessary," Ronald Reagan insisted at a news conference on November 4, 1988, "to start from scratch." Yet precisely because they are Washington's goals, they cannot also be revolutionary.

Meanwhile, the mujahedeen are often treated like mercenaries. Afghan observers and participants in the Jalalabad battle spoke of the assault on March 6 as being "ordered" precipitately, lending credence to Henry Kamm's April 23 story in *The New York Times*, which concluded that the decision to attack was taken in Islamabad by Pakistani and American officials without the participation of a single Afghan. A group of Afghan intellectuals complained bitterly that the story did not cause "a ripple" in Washington. Even the avowed friends of Afghanistan in Congress, such as Senator Gordon Humphrey and Representative Charles Wilson, remained silent. The Afghans find it incredible that foreign officials decided to send thousands of Afghans to die in battle. "And our so-called leaders obeyed!" they repeated in an angry and disbelieving tone. Radio Kabul broadcast the *Times* report for days.

In this story, and the harsh reaction to it, lies the fundamental difference between the resistance politics underlying the battle of Dien Bien Phu and that of Jalalabad. The Vietminh's supplies came from China; some were of Russian origin. But at no point did the Chinese or Russians tell the Vietnamese when and how to conduct their struggle. The achievements of national liberation movements are inextricably linked to the degree of legitimacy commanded by the resistance leaders and organizations. Political independence was essential in maintaining the legitimacy of the Vietminh as an authentic and sovereign national movement. Unfortunately for all sides to the conflict, the war in Afghanistan has been like buzkashi, the rough and costly Afghan game of horsemanship that invariably requires rich and powerful sponsors. One set of players has been managed by the Soviet Union; another by Pakistan and the United States. Since the Soviet troop withdrawal, the regime in Kabul has come to look relatively less like a foreign agent, and the mujahedeen have appeared to be increasingly dependent, divided and directionless.

During two visits to Peshawar last spring I was impressed by the reversal of Afghan attitudes. In the camps and out, refugees speak of their Peshawar-based leaders, and of Washington and Islamabad, in terms previously reserved for the Najibullah regime and the Soviet Union. The talk is no more of the puppet government in Kabul, or of the real and imagined progress of the resistance. There are complaints aplenty of disunity, corruption, excesses and, above all, of the dependence of mujahedeen leaders on the United States, the Wahabis of Saudi Arabia and especially Pakistan. It is a raw experience which forces one to recall a well-

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worn cliché: The mujahedeen organizations and their sponsors have lost the struggle—so crucial in wars of this sort—for the hearts and minds of the Afghan people. □

Bonanza

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

data bases. Moreover, fiber optics makes passive consumption a thing of the past. *The Nation*, for example, could provide a left-liberal political and cultural bulletin board directly to its subscribers. Any reader with a computer terminal could communicate with anyone else on the *Nation* network, without having to go through a distributor or editorial controller.

Not surprisingly, giant corporations like McDonald's and Sears, Roebuck and Company are already tapping into fiber-optic systems, which are technically termed I.S.D.N., or Integrated Services Digital Network. So are telephone and electrical utilities, major universities, such as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the U.S. military. Together these and other major institutions are installing millions of miles of private fiber-optic networks. The United States could well be almost completely linked by this transforming technology by early in the twenty-first century. The country could have a universal information system, says Eric Sumner, vice president of A.T.&T. Bell Laboratories, "to give any customer any kind of voice, data or image service in any combination, anywhere, any time."

But who will rule this brave new world? Ten years ago, well before fiber optics became the communications catchword it is today, the French journal *Telequal* summed up the danger tersely: "Whoever controls the telephone is powerful. Whoever controls the telephone and TV is very powerful. Whoever should one day control the telephone, TV, and the computer would be as powerful as God the Father." Sensing heavenly profits, the big communications corporations are working overtime to get a lock on the rich markets created by fiber optics.

Just this past summer A.T.&T. jumped into the fray with both feet. Traditionally, A.T.&T. has been a "common carrier," limited to moving information and messages along its lines but legally barred from supplying any content whatsoever. A Federal court ruling on July 28, however, allowed this prohibition on A.T.&T. (decreed when the Bell System was broken up in 1982) to expire on schedule August 24. Thus, the huge long-distance and manufacturing conglomerate may now generate and sell a range of electronic services made possible by fiber optics. But A.T.&T. is now only a wholesale supplier, with no local telephone operations. It may sell its information services only to retail systems such as cable TV and broadcast stations. Local telephone companies remain common carriers, forbidden to transmit programs and information.

Judge Harold Greene, who granted A.T.&T.'s fervent request that the ban on content generation be permitted to lapse, held that sufficient competition now existed from other large corporations, such as Dow Jones & Co. and Reuters Holdings Inc. "The monopoly or quasi-monopoly situation that gave life and reason to the electronic-publishing prohibition on A.T.&T. no longer exists," Judge Greene said. In anticipation of the favorable decision, the company has been spending some $2.5 billion annually on research and development.

So far Judge Greene has refused to end the ban against content supply by the seven Bell phone companies, largely because they have monopolies in their own regions. But, like A.T.&T., most of the so-called Baby Bells are optimistic that eventually their day will come. In some instances they already have created information "gateways" that will facilitate the supply of services along fiber-optic cables. At least five of the seven Bell Operating Companies (B.O.C.s) are conducting consumer tests of fiber-optic services to private homes. GTE of California, for example, has entered into an agreement with a cable system in Cerritos, a suburb of Los Angeles, involving 1,000 homes.

Last year John Malone, chairman and C.E.O. of Tele-Communications, Inc., the largest multisystem cable company in the world, told a Congressional committee that a "super-monopoly" might be the most efficient way to serve the nation's consumers. The Federal Communications Commission is doing nothing to discourage such cozy notions. It is considering ending the prohibition against the B.O.C.s'

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building or buying into cable television systems in their regions. In July the United States Conference of Mayors adopted a resolution calling on Congress to allow telephone companies to "own and operate cable systems," thus joining the National League of Cities and the United Conference of Black Mayors in seeking an end to the legal barriers against B.O.C. entry into cable. In a speech at the July Conference of Mayors, James Mooney, president of the National Cable Television Association, complained that the telephone industry is "seizing on cable's political problems, and the consumer press's fascination with magical sounding technology, to shoot their way out of their traditional role as common carriers and get into the television information and content business."

Cable certainly has political problems. The mayors, and several key members of Congress, are fed up with the monopolistic practices and arrogance of the industry, which Senator Al Gore, a member of the Senate Communications Subcommittee, compares to the Cosa Nostra. More than half of all U.S. families are now cable subscribers, and the industry is one of the nation's most profitable. As cable companies are bought and sold, new owners take on greater debt and consequently cut costs and increase rates. Senator Daniel Inouye, who chairs the subcommittee, noted at a hearing earlier this year that the panel had evidence indicating that many cable operators had raised rates 50 to 100 percent. A General Accounting Office survey found that cable rates for the basic services have increased 29 percent since deregulation.

Permitting B.O.C.s, most of them already cash-cow monopolies, to start playing the same game of rate inflation in the name of competition is like arguing that there is something to choose from among network news programs. Should B.O.C.s eventually be permitted to supply video programs as well as video carriage, the goal of untrammeled and universal communications will be in mortal danger.

Three elements are central to all systems of communications: content, carriers and consumers. Content freedoms should be sacrosanct—uninhibited and competitive in an open marketplace of ideas and services. Carriers have the obligation to transmit whatever the content suppliers who pay them want, without censorship. But cable and broadcast carriers, governed only by the profit motive, now accept and reject content at will—and the content providers who are turned away have no alternative.

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The result is a supply bottleneck for a broad range of useful programs and services in areas such as interactive education, job training, health, safety, nutrition, teleshopping and person-to-person computer networking, to name only a few. That such a kaleidoscopic market exists is attested to by the recent growth and success of special-interest consumer magazines, professional journals and learning tapes. We are a nation hungry for variety.

Fiber optics, inherently a two-way system, could break this bottleneck by providing carriage for a myriad of optional pay services, to the great benefit of consumers with all needs and interests. Mass audiences may continue to buy videocassettes of big Hollywood films or sit transfixed watching *Monday Night Football.* But individuals, businesses and institutions can also have the option of buying and selling specialized programs that are of value and profit to them but would not attract enough viewers to win advertising support.

Without common carrier regulations at the Federal level, however, fiber-optic transmission is likely to become another case history of entrepreneurs in new communications technologies seizing product and content control without public awareness or constitutional challenge. The essential legislative safeguards are straightforward: Any person should have the legal right to construct, own or operate any communications carrier or processing facility provided it is regulated by common carrier principles that require universal, nondiscriminatory access and prohibit carrier engagement in content. Happily, the Commerce Department has encouraged such legislation. Its Telecommunications and Information Administration recommended that "impediments to . . . telephone companies offering video common carriage in their service areas should be removed, allowing them to provide video transport (not programming services) directly to subscribers."

Congress should authorize telephone companies to supply video on those terms, which would enable the United States to catch up with nations that have opened their telephone systems to creators of a wide variety of services—like videotext, the two-way text and graphics network, which is undergoing vigorous development in Britain, West Germany, Japan, Canada, Italy, the Netherlands and Spain.

The world's biggest videotext system is France's Minitel, which has already given away 4 million terminals and keyboards (worth $160 a set; the cost is embedded in the telephone rate charges) and hopes eventually to reach 8 million households, or almost a third of the nation's telephone subscribers. More than 9,000 information providers use the network to sell their services, which range from electronic telephone directories to dating services.

The United States could be well on the way to having many such systems by the end of the century. The longer the delay in seizing the opportunities for universal common carrier fiber-optic transmission, the more difficult it will be to prevent the well-heeled corporate developers from gaining concentration of control by vertical integration of carriage and content. Congress can avert this antidemocratic trend, and should do so quickly. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Time Stands Still

MARK GEVISSER

"A township youth stands ready, a Molotov cocktail in hand." So reads the caption to one of David Turnley's photographs in *Why Are They Weeping?* Among the kinetic, almost epic photo-canvases of township rebellion—stamping feet, thrusting arms and open mouths—this photograph arrests a quiet, disconcerting reality. The boy looks directly at the camera, posing with his homemade grenade as if it were a trophy. The cloth in the mouth of the bottle filled with paraffin is already alight—we are caught, locked in a stare, moments before explosion. The image is hypnotic, not just because of the serenity of the boy's expression but because of its stillness. The raised fist of another comrade is suspended over the fire atop the bottle. Glazed as it is by sunlight, this fist seems strong and timeless, a fist of resistance, a fist about to punch upward and outward. It also seems paralyzed.

In 1977, in an important and controversial book called *How Long Will South Africa Survive?*, R.W. Johnson asserted that time in South Africa was stuck, permanently, at "five minutes to midnight," at five minutes to the hour of liberation. The influential Ford Foundation report on American foreign policy in the region, published four years later, was entitled *South Africa: Time Running Out*. It asserted, as its title implies, that the regime was rapidly exhausting its options and therefore plummeting toward its downfall. As the region has undergone its most unstable decade, political rhetoric about southern Africa has found itself, like the boy in the photograph, suspended between two opposing forces. On the one hand, the grenade has already been lit; on the other, it is frozen by a set of circumstances that keeps the time at five minutes to midnight.

What follows are short reviews of some of the literature about southern African politics and society published in the United States recently. They range from photoessays and journalistic reports to in-depth sociological studies and political theses. Some of the writers are insiders, firmly entrenched in the discourses and ideologies of the conservative international policy-making establishment; others are verbal revolutionaries, fortifying the rhetoric of liberation with convincing research and data.

Mark Gevisser writes about South Africa for The Nation.

There is an occupational hazard to writing on the current affairs of a highly volatile society: Much has happened in the short time since these books were written. Most of the work was published before a timetable was set for Namibia's independence; now, as Namibia works its way through the complex coming-of-age rituals devised for it, significant power shifts are bound to occur. And all the work reviewed describes and defines the past decade as the "Botha Era," an era in which cosmetic legislative reform masked a sophisticated and repressive military regime. But in the past few weeks, the tenacious autocrat has been forced to resign, and his successor, F.W. de Klerk, won the early September election on a platform of negotiation with South Africa's black population. Just recently de Klerk initiated his own little *glasnost* by allowing 35,000 protesters to march through Cape Town. South Africa's white leadership seems to be acknowledging, finally, that it is faced with a problem too great to be herded off into arid little homelands, too persistent to be quelled with quirts and tear gas.

The African National Congress has offered moderate and level-headed negotiation proposals that de Klerk's government will be hard pressed to ignore; internally, the peaceful protests and unilateral "unbannings" of the Mass Democratic Movement's Defiance Campaign have opened a new chapter in the history of resistance. But some things never change: The authorities continue to brand members of the A.N.C. as communist terrorists at the same time that they talk of negotiation, and they have responded to the anti-election protests with the most severe and brutal repression since 1985. The white election reduced the Nationalist Party's majority considerably, but it is still undeniably in power. In the face of the optimism now sweeping South Africa—optimism that has not been expressed since the state of emergency crushed the 1984-85 uprising—the election results and the fierce attack on the Defiance Campaign underscore the sobering consensus of the writers below: While the apartheid apparatus might be shakable, it is far from being dislodged.

CAN SOUTH AFRICA SURVIVE? Five Minutes to Midnight. *Edited by John D. Brewer. St. Martin's Press. 350 pp. $49.95.*

If South Africa in 1977 was stuck at "five minutes to midnight," as R.W. Johnson declared, what time is it now, after a decade of uprising, repression, "reform" and international disapprobation? That was the subject of a workshop held at the University of Amsterdam in 1987, where most of the fourteen essays included in *Can South Africa Survive?* were originally presented.

Although much of the foreign relations talk is strictly for professionals, G.R. Berridge's essay, "The Role of the Superpowers," is mercifully lucid in cataloguing the interests that the United States and the Soviet Union have in the region, and in undercutting Ronald Reagan's nonsense about South Africa being of "vital importance to the West." Gerald Braun looks at how the apartheid state has used "red peril" and "black peril" to construct a militaristic, belligerent "Afrikaner Empire" in southern Africa, an empire that he diagnoses as "autistic" because of a selective perception that increasingly divorces it from reality. Divorced from reality it may be, but as Braun and others show, it is also terrifyingly Machiavellian in its regional destabilization policies and in the constitution of its now nearly all-powerful security apparatus.

Perhaps the most readable chapters of this volume are those on internal black protest: Mark Mitchell and Dave Russell's essay on the black trade union movement helps the uninitiated wade through the alphabet soup of South African unions (CCAWUSA and CUSA-AZACTU are two of the more impenetrable) and gives a history of the labor movement's involvement in the liberation struggle. Tom Lodge's essay on the United Democratic Front is the collection's masterpiece, an inspired documentation of the activities and ideologies of the mass democratic movement that led the uprisings of the early 1980s. Lodge is breathtaking in his use and interpretation of primary material: He bases his discussion on polemic written in

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U.D.F. mouthpieces, on boycott pamphlets distributed (broken English and all) by local activists, on a multiplicity of newspaper articles. To examine the front's leadership, he reproduces a list of names and biographies of the Natal U.D.F. Regional Executive, and he concludes the essay with a thorough and vivid discussion of the people's courts that were so infamous and prevalent in the mid-1980s.

The state has been very successful in stamping out organized resistance: The U.D.F. was effectively curtailed when most of its affiliates were banned in February 1988. In his essay on black protest, however, John Brewer emphasizes that in the decade following the 1976 Soweto uprising, the values and symbolism of the movement have been so infused into black consciousness that no amount of repression can extinguish them—his point is clearly proven by the resurgence of popular resistance in the last few months. In the past decade, black South African culture has evolved into a culture of liberation—the higher the levels of repression, the stronger the impulse for freedom. This, coupled with the fact that fissures in the white ruling class are beginning to manifest themselves (outlined in an excellent essay by Afrikaner historian Hermann Giliomee), leads Brewer, as editor of the volume, to conclude that even if "the militarised and centralised state is as yet unassailable, the system is becoming more ungovernable. So while the clock is still at five minutes to midnight, it is no longer riveted in this position."

EUROPE, AMERICA AND SOUTH AFRICA. *Edited by Gregory F. Treverton. Council on Foreign Relations and New York University. 138 pp. $25.*

This is it! The Insider's Guide to Foreign Policy in Southern Africa, by five leaders in the field. Read what your policy-makers think about sanctions! Laugh! Cry! Sleeeeep. . . . In his preface to *Europe, America and South Africa*, Cyrus Vance describes the function of the Project on European-American Relations, under which auspices this book was written: to alleviate the current "trans-Atlantic malaise" by "enhancing understanding" between Europe and the United States over "critical issues" that affect the relationship between the two power centers. One of these "critical issues" is, of course, South Africa. Editor Gregory Treverton explains quite brazenly that "this book is not about southern or South Africa, but rather about European and American policy." This perspective is ironically appropriate, for the Western nations' policy toward southern Africa has little to do with the needs and problems of the region, and much to do with their relationships with one another and with the Soviet bloc.

The book is composed of essays by five key Western policy-makers: Donald F. McHenry, who was Jimmy Carter's ambassador to the United Nations; Claude Cheysson, François Mitterrand's first Foreign Minister; Lord Francis Pym, the Tory "wet" Foreign Minister who was axed by Margaret Thatcher in 1983; Max van der Stoel, a socialist Foreign Minister of the Netherlands in the 1970s and early 1980s; and Herman W. Nickel, who, as Reagan's Ambassador to South Africa, was the point man for "constructive engagement" in Pretoria. As is often the case these days, those on the right are more idealistically charged than those on the left in this debate, and the book is most interesting for Nickel's impassioned (and, it must be conceded, intelligent) defense of one of Reagan's most unpopular and inexcusable policies.

While differing strongly in opinion about sanctions (no prizes for guessing who falls where), the authors agree with one another—and with the contributors to *Can South Africa Survive?*—that South Africa is locked in a stalemate. Treverton makes the critical observation that the West has minimal leverage in breaking the deadlock: To believe that either the carrot of constructive engagement or the stick of sanctions can induce real change in South Africa is "wishful thinking." The many reasons for this, as explained by the five policy-makers in this volume and by several essayists in *Can South Africa Survive?*, are crucial knowledge for any American who supports sanctions and divestment.

FRONTLINE SOUTHERN AFRICA: Destructive Engagement. *Edited by Phyllis Johnson and David Martin. Four Walls Eight Windows. 530 pp. $23.95. Paper $14.95.*

While F.W. de Klerk charges around Africa like a latter-day Livingstone and is hailed by the Western press as South Africa's last great white hope, *Frontline Southern Africa* reminds us that although the new state President may sell himself as the maker of regional

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peace, his government is largely responsible for the war. This encyclopedic volume makes no bones about its ideological mission. The result of many years' meticulous research, it is an irrefutable condemnation of South Africa's policy of regional destabilization. On its cover it proudly carries the banning order from the South African government—"This publication is of a subversive nature and has been ruled prejudicial to the safety of the state"—that is proof of its potency.

The book is divided into two sections: The second half consists of a series of essays analyzing South Africa's military and economic power, and concludes with William Minter's critique of U.S. foreign policy in the region. Minter (who opens with a discussion of literary "constructive engagement" in James Michener's novel *The Covenant*!) should be read with Ambassador Nickel's piece in *Europe, America and South Africa*: Minter is as intelligent and far more credible. Reginald Green and Carol Thompson outline the reasons for South Africa's war on its neighboring states—uncomfortably similar to Nazi Germany's rationalization of *Lebensraum*—and discuss means that the front-line states might use to minimize the damage done if ties with South Africa, the hub of the region, were to be broken. What is exciting about *Frontline Southern Africa* is the possibility that suggestions like those of Green and Thompson might evolve into public policy for the front-line states if South Africa were to close its borders, as P.W. Botha threatened to do if more international sanctions were imposed.

At this point such a scenario is hardly likely, for South Africa enjoys too much its hegemony in the region, maintained through a policy of diplomatic visits to African leaders on the one hand, and of military incursion and economic terrorism on the other. This terrorism has been both overt, as in brazen raids on Botswana and Lesotho and the 1975 invasion of Angola, and covert, as in the establishment and support of destabilizing counterrevolutionary guerrilla armies in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe. The first half of the book documents, in racy narrative style, the history of this destabilization. The account of Rhodesian Intelligence literally *creating* the Mozambique National Resistance (M.N.R.) and the South African takeover of its operation is incisive investigative journalism with a spy-thriller intensity that will keep you up into the night. There are five case studies presented—Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia and the "captive states" of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. The authors have taken great pains (with varying degrees of success) to make them readable: from first-person accounts of bandit atrocities in the hills around Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, to lyrical descriptions of a deserted A.N.C. graveyard outside Maseru, Lesotho; from stories about ordinary Namibians to tales of Portuguese mercenaries and shady black American gunrunners. The studies are peppered with horrifying statistics—money and lives lost—that make it understandable why Marxist African states like Angola and Mozambique would enter into accords with racist, white South Africa—accords the South Africans have no qualms about breaking.

Editors Phyllis Johnson and David Martin run an independent organization in Zimbabwe called the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre. Considered to be local authorities on the region (they have been the first port of call for visitors ranging from Matilda Cuomo to Jesse Jackson), they coordinate a team of people whose task it is, in the words of U.S. publisher Dan Simon, "to arm this struggle with information." Their product is thoroughly engaged scholarship.

UPROOTING POVERTY: The South African Challenge. *By Francis Wilson and Mamphela Ramphele. W.W. Norton. 380 pp. $27.50.*

Since 1980, the Second Carnegie Inquiry Into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa has been gathering information for its report, *Uprooting Poverty*, and it came to serve as a sort of tribunal at which scholars, community organizers and plain people could give testimony to the ravages of apartheid—hunger, unemployment, unconscionable work and housing conditions, powerlessness. In a land where testimony can indict the witness, the inquiry's relative immunity meant that it has been, in the years of the emergency, a highly cherished forum for open exchange, one that has monitored the human cost of the system over the past decade.

"We have tried," write the authors, "to identify the main features of poverty in southern Africa." Like *Frontline Southern Africa*, this book is an encyclopedia, but a populist encyclopedia, for amid rainfall maps and infant mortality figures and pie charts are pages and pages of personal accounts. Mamphela Ramphele and Francis Wilson have been adept at filtering sociological data collection through real lives; of not privileging papers submitted to the Carnegie inquiry over the voice of, say, Aunt Bettie from Philipstown in the Karoo. With tidbits of information (a quotation from Orwell here, a comment about forestry in Korea there) shaded in gray and scattered all over the book, this is a study both unorthodox and rigorous.

The authors contend that "power lies at the heart of the problem of poverty in southern Africa." Acknowledging that black South Africans are not going to attain political power in the near future, they examine the possibilities for community empowerment—methods by which, to paraphrase Zwelakhe Sisulu, a journalist and educator recently released from detention, the balance of power may shift even if power isn't actually transferred. In this way poverty can be alleviated at the same time that progressive South Africans work toward a democratic ideal. Because a government that denies its people any real power is going to do little in the way of material uplifting, the authors pitch their agenda at "any democratic state [that is] mindful of the needs of its members who are poor" rather than directly at the current regime. It is a titillating thought that the suggestions of the inquiry will one day be used by just such a democratic state.

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WHY ARE THEY WEEPING? South Africans Under Apartheid. *By David Turnley and Alan Cowell. Stewart, Tabori & Chang. 200 pp. $35. Paper $19.95.*

Senzenina . . ./What have we done?/ These are our people,/ Why are they weeping?/Senzenina?" Intoned at funerals and sung at rallies, written on banners and posters, the "senzenina" chant has become one of the anthems of the South African liberation movement. *Why Are They Weeping?* is a photographic essay by David Turnley, a photojournalist who worked in South Africa from 1985 to 1987, mainly for the *Detroit Free Press.* The photographs are accompanied by text written by former *New York Times* Johannesburg bureau chief Alan Cowell, offering a brief overview of South Africa since the emergency was declared in 1985. "Above all, it was a time of choices," Cowell's article begins; it is written in that chatty *New York Times* "Johannesburg Journal" style—fluid and hyperarticulate, informative but a little too pat.

There's something a bit pat about Turnley's photographs too, as in the image of a snotty-nosed little black boy clutching a loaf of bread beneath a cigarette advertisement proclaiming "Life . . . is great." It doesn't seem to matter, though, for with their compositional flair and rich coloring, the photographs are full sensory experiences. The images of funerals and rallies—a caterpillar of coffins draped in A.N.C. colors weaving through a mass of heads, for example—are the most sensational. But more interesting are the many photographs depicting everyday interaction between the races, for they show whites at every level of society—wealthy farmers, suburban bourgeois, sharecroppers and parking-meter attendants—being waited upon by black servants. Turnley has captured perfectly the gaunt muscularity of black life and the almost grotesque puffiness of white life.

Perhaps the most amusing—and nauseating—image is that of P.W. Botha and his wife, Elise, "on a rare visit to a black township." In a depiction of patronage that seems almost too stereotypical to be true, the President stands by while his wife, looking like a drag queen doing a parody of a charity visit, shoves a tiny piece of candy into the cupped hands of a little girl in a hospital cot. In the South African idiom, the exclamation "Shame" can mean anything from an expression of sympathy to an expression roughly equivalent to "How cute!" "Shame," you can almost hear Elise Botha coo to the little girl. "SHAME!" it makes you want to shout back. □

What's in a Number?

JOHN TORPEY

"When the spirit fades," writer Charles Bukowski has observed, "the form appears." This is a fair description of the current state of professional sociology, with its penchant for technical sophistication at the expense of human substance. At this year's convention of the American Sociological Association (A.S.A.) in San Francisco, one conference theme, "Macro and Micro Interrelationships," was essentially empty, so basic it could mean anything. Indeed, one participant suggested to me that the topic was chosen because an older generation of sociologists, disturbed at the "fragmentation" of the field, sought some sort of consensus, however minimal, on what the discipline is up to. The other theme of the meeting concerned the social dimensions of the AIDS crisis, but the relative lack of attention actually accorded AIDS cast doubt on its equal billing with "micro/macro" dilemmas.

These days the discipline of sociology falters, a victim of its misguided quest for a professionalism wrapped in the protective armor of "science." *The New York Times* recently reported that Washington University, in St. Louis, is dismantling its sociology department, and the University of Rochester, in New York, has already done so. Such developments are surely related to the profession's inability to infuse its descriptions with imagination and vision and make them accessible to a broader audience.

At last year's meeting of the A.S.A. in Atlanta, University of California, Berkeley, sociology professor Todd Gitlin decried the bad writing cultivated in professional journals and graduate programs. Most sociologists, he lamented, have come to write so obscurely as to preclude the scrutiny, or indeed the interest, of any but sociological insiders. When Herbert Gans, then the A.S.A. president, addressed the same gathering, he insisted that the profession must assure its fledgling practitioners that "they can be both sociologists and writers and will not be discriminated against for this combination of skills."

The case of Harvard University is instructive. Despite a history of orientation toward theoretical and public-minded sociology, Harvard has sought in recent years to recover its eclipsed status as one of the nation's top two or three departments. A review committee of prestigious sociologists decided the most promising path was to pursue what pays in the marketplace of ideas—namely, quantitative studies. When Paul Starr came up for tenure in a widely publicized 1985 case, one dissenter from the department's favorable recommendation derided Starr's accessible and comprehensive study, *The Social Transformation of American Medicine*, as mere "journalism." Despite the fact that Starr's book had won the 1984 Pulitzer Prize in general nonfiction, the 1984 Bancroft Prize in history and the 1983 C. Wright Mills award in sociology, president Derek Bok supported the dissenting minority, facilitating Harvard's move toward quantification. Berkeley was the only one among the top ten in a recent poll of the nation's sociology departments not strongly dedicated to a quantitative approach.

Quantitative sociologists tend to make a fetish of "hard numbers" rather than trying to understand how social groups interpret and act on the circumstances those numbers describe. But those scholars also constitute an important bulwark against the recent tendencies of others in the field who seem to privilege inspired insight over validation. Scholars influenced by post-structuralist and deconstructionist literary criticism have been reducing the concrete substance of social structure to a goulash of "texts." In this version of social processes, responsible actors are hard to find.

Despite their tendency to be obscure, some quantitatively oriented sociologists are carrying out important work. Among the best is Erik Olin Wright's research (in *Classes*) on class structure and class consciousness in industrial societies, and William Julius Wilson's on poverty, race

John Torpey is translating, with Fred Hunter, a volume of essays by Max Horkheimer entitled Between Philosophy and Social Science, *to be published next year by M.I.T. Press.*

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and class (in *The Declining Significance of Race* and *The Truly Disadvantaged*). Both continue to explore the classic sociological preoccupation with hierarchical structures and their effects on individuals. They are attempting to understand the fateful confluence of history and biography, as C. Wright Mills once described sociology's mission.

In contrast to the more quantified research approach, the "interpretive" tradition in sociology associated with such figures as Robert Bellah and Clifford Geertz (actually an anthropologist) generally rejects the claim that sociology can be a science in the same sense as the natural sciences. Interpretive sociology typically has less to do with statistics and uses cultural meaning and subjective perception as the focus of investigation. It can be, as Bellah argues, a kind of public philosophy.

Squarely in the interpretive tradition, Alan Wolfe has recently attempted (in *Whose Keeper? Social Science and Moral Obligation*) to renew sociology's relation to popular discourse. He examines the vanishing civil society that is pinched between markets and states in liberal democracies. Wolfe takes brilliant measure of the shock waves reverberating from the epicenter of "rational choice" theory, the University of Chicago. Despite its uselessness in accounting for moral obligations, Wolfe demonstrates, this view has crowded out sociological insight in much current debate, replacing reciprocity with market logic.

At times, however, interpretive sociologists lapse into an individualistic approach at odds with the core insight of any sociology worthy of the name: the notion that society exists as a reality outside individuals, fundamentally shaping the choices they make about their lives. This problem is especially apparent in such obscure branches as "ethnomethodology," which one critic has attacked as "sociology without society." The University of California's Los Angeles and Santa Barbara campuses were once bastions of these more social-psychological approaches, unflatteringly dubbed "California sociology." As a result of a recent infusion of European émigré sociologists, however, these are boom times for sociology in southern California, where a number of departments have reinvigorated the institutional orientation at the heart of the sociological tradition. Meanwhile, Berkeley continues its "sociologically informed social criticism," as a recent departmental review put it.

Perhaps the most significant trend in recent sociological thought is an attempt to understand the conditions in which social knowledge is created. This concern takes seriously Marx's crucial discovery that being determines consciousness, not the other way around. Since Karl Mannheim elaborated this insight into a sociology of knowledge, the relations of symbolic production have become a central preoccupation. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who rivals any German mandarin in the density of his prose, has done much to deflate the cultural pretensions of the dominant classes, seeing in them the basis for "symbolic domination." In his *Homo Academicus* he turns his attentions to the academic power game, suggesting that scholars pursue many things besides truth.

Understanding the origins of social knowledge is of more than academic importance. In her sharp-eyed *Fear of Falling*, Barbara Ehrenreich demonstrates the importance of locating socially the producers of "scientific" knowledge. She draws on sociology mostly to indicate how middle-class prejudices toward workers shape broadly held but quite erroneous notions about the working class. Ehrenreich also shows how neoconservatives have used the insight about middle-class control over representations of social reality as a bludgeon against liberals.

The profession obviously still attracts many to its traditional domain—studies of inequality, domination and social conflict. A National Research Council panel dominated by sociologists issued a damning assessment this summer of the gains made by African-Americans over the past half-century (strangely titled "A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society"). The report concluded that the advances of the 1960s ended with the onset of economic malaise in the early 1970s, leaving a "great gulf" between blacks and whites.

A week later, sociologists at the University of Chicago announced their finding that racial segregation in housing is deeper and more profound than had previously been thought. Such studies may help to undermine the notion—attributable to the widespread lack of a conception of social structure—that racism has been eliminated simply because well-intentioned whites no longer refer to black people as "niggers" and the most explicitly racist laws have been rescinded.

These reports as well as Gans's and Gitlin's remarks suggest the persistence of a desire for the discipline to reach be-

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yond its confines to risk addressing public concerns with investigations of power and justice. The new A.S.A. president is William Julius Wilson of the University of Chicago. Wilson's work has profoundly influenced the debate on the urban "underclass," and he has mandated that next year's convention consider the topic of "Sociology and the Public Agenda."

Academic sociology was born out of a debate with Marxism. It grew strong in dialogue with contentious social forces and derives intellectual sustenance today from its connection to movements for social change among workers, women and racial, ethnic and sexual minorities. Yet there are powerful institutional impulses to rationalize and reinforce a divided society. Younger sociologists devoted to understanding the sources of social conflict must confront an academic setting that, like the larger society, throws many obstacles in the way of that effort. The future of the field thus depends crucially on the strength of currents running outside and beneath it. □

As Vermont Goes

KIRKPATRICK SALE

THE VERMONT PAPERS: Recreating Democracy on a Human Scale. *By Frank Bryan and John McClaughry. Chelsea Green. 308 pp. $18.95.*

You will know, comparing the subtitle of this book with my bio below, where my sympathies lie. This is a book very much to my taste (it even mentions me, with general accuracy, a couple of times), and I admire it greatly for its wisdom and courage even as I take issue with some of its presumptions.

It is the guiding logic of *The Vermont Papers* that I like best, which goes something like this: (1) Scale is an essential element of all social constructs, though one the Industrial Age has tried to ignore—"In governance," as Frank Bryan and John McClaughry say, "as with nearly everything else in this century, scale has been the forgotten ingredient." (2) The result is the centralization and giantism of political (and economic) institutions and their inability to respond and function properly—"the collapse of the American center" and "the specter of a government that no longer works." (3) The obvious alternative, an answer as old as humanity, is a society on the human scale—"a modern place of human dimensions" and "small, intimate community." (4) And in political terms this means participatory democracy—"small direct democracies" with "face-to-face forums for real decision making."

To achieve this sort of political nirvana, Bryan and McClaughry advocate as "the primary unit of government" something they call *shires*—"independent polities, accountable directly to their own people, governed by a body elected by the people, having their own independent revenue base adequate to their needs." They see a Vermont of a half-million people divided into perhaps forty such shires (for which they've even provided a map) with an average population of some 10,000 people and encompassing five to ten towns of between 500 and 2,500 inhabitants. The shires would have the real governmental power (being responsible for education, welfare, mental health, land use, agriculture, roads and so on), though they would derive it from the consent of the small towns within their borders and could devolve as much of it to the towns as they might choose. Those towns, governed by traditional town-meeting democracy, would elect representatives to the governing body of the shire, the shire-moot, one for about every 200 people. And the powers of the state government, considerably diminished, would be limited largely to servicing the shires, protecting the environment and dealing with outside governments—it would be, for the most part, "a creature of the shires."

These shires, as you political scientists will have noted, are very much like Swiss cantons, with strong towns below and a weak state above, and the thought is that they will provide the sort of democratic strength that Switzerland displays at its best. Let B&M wax ecstatic:

> The shires will be a crucible of true human freedom in that they will nurture that sense of self-restraint which

Kirkpatrick Sale, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is the author of* Human Scale *(Perigee Books),* Dwellers in the Land: The Bioregional Vision *(Sierra Club) and a forthcoming work on Columbus,* The Conquest of Paradise. *He serves with John McClaughry on the board of directors of the E.F. Schumacher Society.*

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> flowers into ordered liberty. The shires will build the kind of community that integrates the individual into a matrix of land, society, custom, belief, and hope without which he or she is prey to alienation and despair. These manifestations of shire identity will, in time, strengthen this vital spirit of community and make the shire into a spiritual home for its people.

Well, so they say—and so I, for one, am prepared to believe. And all that poetry is surrounded by a good deal of sound, cold-eyed, real-world analysis and argument that does in fact make their case quite persuasive. It is hard not to believe that, at a minimum, a shire government for Vermont would be vastly superior to what it now has. All that said, though, I do have a few caveats I think it pertinent to enter.

First, watch out for the ardent technophilia of this pair, who are aggressively defensive about high-tech hardware even though they admit they don't understand anything about it and don't ever prove that any of their techno-gadgets ("Consensor"-machine voting, wide-screen statistical displays, computerized car registration) are in any way necessary for either democracy or efficiency. They somehow seem to believe that, all evidence to the contrary, technology is "neutral."

Second, they are similarly avid in favor of the private ownership of property as some sort of keystone to democratic society—as if the history of this country from the start did not show the anticommunal and anti-ecological effect of this all-too-American obsession. This puts them in the silly position of getting sentimental in defense of one elderly farm couple who wanted to sell their acreage to a condo developer—as if there was not ample evidence that there's rarely been an environmental sin committed in this country that wasn't excused by the idea that, "It's my property and I can do what I want with it."

Which brings up, third, the question of land and nature. The B&M scheme, for all its talk of Vermont geography (and even its creation of a statewide Bureau of Bioregional Policy), lacks the bioregional understanding that people have to have a true sense of place, a *love* of place, before they can develop any true community—either of their own or with the other species, much less true community democracy—which must include other species. B&M miss this completely, and so have no provision for making the bioregional vision part of their political vision; in fact, they are so sure that the people of their towns and shires will misuse their environments that they go against all their own canons and decree that environmental decisions are to be *centralized* and established at state and suprastate levels!

What all these caveats are pointing to, of course, is the perception totally lacking from this otherwise quite comprehensive book: that it is modern industrial culture *itself* that is inimical to community and democracy and ecological harmony, and always will be. You simply cannot accept the technology of that culture—much less its attitudes to nature or private property or, God forbid, its goal of "economic growth and progress" and its "rewards for achievement"—without falling prey to its other imperatives, like giantism, centralization, exploitation and the rest. You can't go swimming in the ocean and not expect to taste salt water.

There remains the final problem of how applicable such a book, specific as it is to Vermont, can be for the rest of us. B&M suggest, and I think quite rightly, that Vermont by example could "show America how to get its democracy back" and "provide the nation with the hope it now so desperately needs." But I do wish they had spent a little less time with the tiny constitutional details more appropriate for a future convention and a little more suggesting how their insights might be applicable in other places where, God knows, they are badly needed. Vermont may become an example; but if everyone moved there to experience it, it wouldn't last a fortnight.

One last note: This book is published by a small company, Chelsea Green, in a small Vermont town, Chelsea. That was an entirely appropriate choice by the authors, and they have been served entirely well with a handsome and well-edited volume. □

BELLS ON TAIWAN

In the aromatic grasses,
the water buffalo wakes. Alert,
this head of old knowledge listens:
Temple bells move the winds;
they play with the mountains
and ask about the sea.
They don't slumber, these leaping bells.
They blanket an island
where birds sweep like melodies
and fields never finish their growing.

None of which startles
the buffalo. Born in patience
to mud, and bridled in charity
to the trust of small boys—
dozing on his back, this two-horned ox
of grace who grazes over continents,
whose hooves plant rhythms
in the thigh-deep fields—
this being of metric stride
can wait, forever, in the long,
fragrant mornings,
for the bells on Taiwan to be silent.

Anne Babson Carter

FILMS.

STUART KLAWANS

In Country
The Big Picture
Spices

A disdain for truth in labeling seems to be endemic to Los Angeles, the city that unconscionably calls its baseball club the Dodgers, the town that gave us Ronald Reagan and claimed he was President. Now comes a Hollywood production that the unwary consumer might mistake for Bobbie Ann Mason's *In Country*.

Indeed, the filmmakers list her novel as their source, no doubt in the same spirit as that legendary opening credit, "Additional dialogue by William Shakespeare." Though I hardly think Mason's dialogue quite *that* masterful, her book is serviceable enough, with a goodly share of wit and clearheaded observation. The film—which is godawful, front to back—might therefore be of most interest to people who are curious about the techniques of artistic fraud. How did the perpetrators—producer/director Norman Jewison, screenwriters Frank Pierson and Cynthia Cidre—go about their imposture?

First, having chosen Vietnam War veterans as their subject, the filmmakers were careful to say nothing of consequence about either the Vietnam War or its veterans. Here is Sam, the young woman through whom the novel is narrated, talking to her boyfriend in Mason's version of the story:

> My daddy went over there to fight for Mom's sake, and Emmett went over there for Mom's sake and my sake, to get revenge. If you went off to war, I bet you'd say it was for me. But if

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> you're planning on joining the Army, you might ask my opinion first. The ones who don't get killed come back with their lives messed up, and then they make everybody miserable.

Strangely enough, you don't hear Sam say anything like this in the film. Nor does she pass an Army recruiting poster and return a finger salute to Uncle Sam. Nor does her Uncle Emmett complain because the doctor he consulted laughed when asked about Agent Orange. There is something about Agent Orange on almost every page of *In Country* but in only one or two frames of the film.

Not that I expected to see much on that topic. It would have introduced a political question; and besides, in the book, Emmett's most noticeable symptom happens to be a spectacular case of acne, which is something filmmakers are loath to depict in close-ups on the big screen. Fair enough—but Jewison, having cleaned up both Emmett's complexion and his attitude, would not rest until he'd gone all the way and made the character just like the Vietnam vets you see in made-for-TV movies. Whereas Mason's Emmett, for all his troubles, has a certain charm and flaky humor and is rather popular in town, Jewison's character hurts like four rotten molars.

Played by Bruce Willis with a bit of a paunch and a downturned mustache, the movie Emmett has moods that range from sulk to snit. The explanation isn't hard to find. When one of the film's other veterans, Pete, complains loudly that the G.I.s weren't allowed to win the war, Emmett quickly agrees: Lyndon Johnson should have "declared war and let us win it." (In the book, Emmett and his niece don't agree with Pete; if anything, they think he's something of a jerk.) When a dance for local Vietnam veterans is poorly attended, the organizer stares into the camera, an American flag displayed behind him, and declares it a pity that the nonveterans hadn't cared enough to show up. (In the book it's the veterans who don't bother to attend; the organizer, whose wife has just left him, winds up drunk.) If the movie Emmett grinds his teeth and shouts a lot, it's for a reason Oliver North himself would endorse: America has neglected and misunderstood its Vietnam vets, who just want a little sympathy and respect from the rest of us.

As Emmett says at the film's climax, the G.I.s did terrible things in Vietnam, but "were out there trying to survive. It felt good when you got even." He says

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the same thing in the book, too, but the conversation doesn't end there. Mason's Emmett goes on to blame himself for fighting in Vietnam: "It wasn't what you wanted, was it?" he asks his niece. "It wasn't what [his sister] Irene wanted. Then she got stuck with me because of what I did for her. Ain't life stupid? Fuck a duck!"

Needless to say, the movie Emmett never blames himself. In Hollywood, veterans may feel sorrow and fear and rage but rarely guilt—that could be politically dangerous, and also rather too emotionally challenging. (Even in the relatively tough *Casualties of War*, the protagonist receives complete absolution.) But there is a second reason the movie Emmett cannot make his confession. The heart of the story—the relationship between Emmett and his niece Sam—has been excised.

Perhaps the main pleasure of Mason's novel lies in its portrayal of Sam—teenaged, self-consciously weird, endlessly curious about the Vietnam War and the 1960s in general—and her bond with the fragile uncle who is partly her guardian and partly her ward. The two characters love each other; the household they've set up might be too eccentric to last, but while it's there it nurtures them. Imagine the panic in the story conference when Jewison and his writers first realized they were working with a plot about two people in harmony.

In Hollywood even the caterers know that every story must have a *conflict*. I'm sure the responsible parties were thus duly shocked to learn that the prestigious item they'd bought, by someone who fancies herself a real writer, had not observed this most basic of rules. Fortunately, a solution was at hand: Sam could dislike her uncle. That settled, the conferees could break for lunch, having left Sam with none of her characteristics from the novel except a passion for running. Emily Lloyd, who plays Sam, looks exceptionally good in Spandex, so Jewison had firm aesthetic grounds for leaving that part in.

Having corrected all of Bobbie Ann Mason's errors, the filmmakers could then concentrate on what they do best, creating an emotional atmosphere. That means having the characters hug each other a lot while music as drippy as butterscotch syrup oozes over the production. To my mind, characters have been hugging each other entirely too much lately. If you go to see Franklin Schaffner's *Welcome Home*—and I wouldn't, if I were you—you'll have to watch Kris Kristofferson hug Brian Keith, JoBeth Williams and about half the population of Vermont, all to the accompaniment of nonstop Henry Mancini. I mention that film because it, too, concerns a Vietnam vet. Kristofferson's character undergoes a readjustment that is more melodramatic than Emmett's—he has been missing in action for seventeen years—but the conclusion of *Welcome Home* is as heartwarming as *In Country*'s. Those kind souls in the story conferences wouldn't have it any other way.

And since the producers could not rest unless the largest possible public was allowed the benefits of a warm heart, both *In Country* and *Welcome Home* have been framed and edited with the TV screen in mind. That does make for some awkward moments (such as the occasional interpolation of the back of an actor's head, in medium shot); but it guarantees that viewers everywhere will soon be able to feel much better about that war in wherever the hell it was.

A few all-too-plausible story conferences figure in Christopher Guest's new comedy, *The Big Picture*, the tale of a young man who wins a student film award and instant Hollywood celebrity only to suffer the predictable effects of hubris.

Nick (Kevin Bacon) makes his name with a nightmarish little comedy titled *First Date*, full of fisheye lens effects and unnerving non sequiturs, all filmed in crisp black and white. On the basis of this surrealistic excursion—just what Hollywood has been waiting for—he receives the offer of an interview with a studio executive: "Call my secretary, I'll call you back."

Introduced into the executive's ranch-theme office—everybody in this movie devotes a lot of thought to decorative schemes—Nick proposes his big project: a drama about three lovers in a snowbound house. It's a story about the way people change, he explains. The executive (played by the hilariously pompous J.T. Walsh) says he loves the idea, but why not make it a story about two women and a man, instead of two men and a woman? "There's something about two women together," he muses. And instead of a snowbound cabin, why not put the characters somewhere more congenial, such as a summer house at the beach? And hasn't Nick made the characters too old? He's imagined them as being in their early 40s; how can you sell that to the audience, when the moviegoers are ages 14 to 22? But the executive loves the concept, all the same. Nick just has to work in about a dozen hit songs and forget about shooting the film in black and white. You can't show black and white anymore, one of the studio types assures Nick, since "all the projectors are color now."

Nick resists momentarily, but then, of course, he gives in. Before long he has broken up with his lover, leased a flashy apartment and a flashier car, betrayed his best friend and made a fool of himself with a barracuda of an actress. I will spare you the details of the inevitable downfall, except to mention that Jennifer Jason Leigh, as Nick's goofiest classmate from film school, shows up at just the right moment. She saves not only Nick himself but also *The Big Picture*. In fact, Leigh all but walks away with the movie, which until her appearance had been trying, with only middling success, to be funny.

It's not just that the humor in *The Big Picture* is hermetic. You'll get all the jokes even if you've never set foot in Los Angeles (though you'd probably laugh louder if you subscribe to *Daily Variety*). The problem, I think, is that everybody in the movie tries so hard. The filmmakers really *want* to be whimsical; they *want* to be original; they *want* you to know just how hard it was to make a movie about themselves. And they really, *really* want you to like them. That, apparently, is why they cast Bacon, with his perfect face and unfailing charm, as Nick. He's supposed to be a young man with dark anxieties and a phantasmagorical wit, like a corn-fed Roman Polanski; but then, the audience might stop identifying with the character if he ever seemed genuinely odd, and so Bacon, who can play just about anything, has to forget the Polanski and deliver just the corn.

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Leigh, on the other hand, is allowed to cut loose with a few scenes of hyperkinetic jive. Her character is no more true to life than the others, but her energy is real. In the midst of all the ponderous satire on show-business pretensions, stuck in the middle of all the carefully crafted parodies of old films, Leigh comes bouncing down the street, her head bobbing, her limbs flailing as if their tendons were rubber bands, and suddenly *The Big Picture* becomes great fun to watch.

If you haven't had the fun of watching a good musical recently, let me recommend *Spices*, an Indian film directed by Ketan Mehta. It incorporates a village dance that's one of the most rousing production numbers I've seen in ages. If you haven't seen a good western lately, you might try *Spices* as well. There's a showdown complete with gushing blood and Peckinpah-style slow-motion. *Spices* also should satisfy your appetite for domestic drama, burlesque comedy and profeminist, anti-imperialist agitation. It's a cross between the political and aesthetic commitment of India's parallel cinema movement and the gaudy excesses of the Bombay musical. The very least you can say is that it gives you your money's worth.

Starring the late Smita Patil—who looked like a village woman, only rather more lush, and conveyed the sense of self-assurance you'd find in a statue of a goddess—*Spices* tells a story of late colonial times, when the *subedar* (part tax collector, part feudal warlord) would descend periodically to pick up the revenues and anything else that caught his eye. This time his fancy lights on Patil's character, Sonbai. Her husband having left the village to take a job with the railroad, Sonbai should be ripe for picking; and yet she turns out to be the one person in town willing to stand up to the *subedar*.

Played with sly humor by Naseeruddin Shah, the *subedar* proudly wears precisely two medals on his uniform and maintains the sort of handlebar mustache that can be cultivated only by a man with time on his hands. He's the pettiest of authorities, comic in his vanity but truly dangerous when crossed. Sonbai first shows herself to be unimpressed by his attentions. Then, when he persists, she slaps his face—an intolerable affront, for which she is forced to flee his soldiers, taking refuge in a spice factory, where mountains of chili peppers give off a reddish-pink aura that threatens to detach your retinas.

If you happen to be in New York City and don't waste any time, you have a chance to see more of Smita Patil's films in a small retrospective at the Asia Society, on view through September 30. □

EXCHANGE.

(*Continued From Page 370*)

tion and that you were doing some sort of survey which kind of confused me—I didn't understand what that was, but I answered the questions that were put to me though. I didn't quite understand that it was for a Cockburn column, but I think probably you'd said something; I just didn't (pause)

JW: But had you heard the name Alexander Cockburn?

LR: I did hear the name Alexander Cockburn. That's why I said that I probably just didn't quite understand it because I do remember that you mentioned the name.

JW: Was there any mistaking that my call was prompted by a syndicated column by Alan Dershowitz which had appeared in the *Messenger* among other publications?

LR: No.

JW: Had I explained as preface to my questions that the column was being challenged in its particulars by some of the subjects named in it—Kunstler, Chomsky, *The Nation*, the National Lawyers Guild?

LR: Yes.

Dershowitz claims that Rolfe was asked "a hypothetical about a column that used made-up quotes." This again is untrue. Rolfe confirms that Wypijewski asked him a specific question relating to Dershowitz's tactics, and particularly mentioned the case of Chomsky's misrepresentation. It will be recalled that Dershowitz's assistant, posing as a *Boston Herald* reporter, called Chomsky's office and asked his secretary if Chomsky had a "public statement" on the Tiananmen Square massacre. The assistant was told that Chomsky was not in the habit of issuing public statements. Dershowitz converted this into an assertion that Chomsky "has been silent about China, according to his secretary." Rolfe originally said he thought such conduct was sleazy, though without looking into the matter himself he said he would not be able to make an absolute determination about what happened. Dershowitz, it should be emphasized, does not deny that this was his method of journalistic inquiry. As to the question put to him—Would you regard such tactics as fair reporting from a member of your own staff?—Rolfe said, "No, obviously I wouldn't." He has not, subsequent to his conversation with Dershowitz, retreated

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from that position. As he wrote in a letter to Wypijewski on August 11, some weeks later, "It sounds to me like Dershowitz treated Chomsky unfairly. I don't like the idea of someone making ideological points by sleazy debating tactics. If someone just asked me if I had put out a press release on the subject, but didn't particularly want to interview me on that same subject, I would be rightly suspicious of his or her motives."

(2) Dershowitz's lawyer, Nat Dershowitz, stated in writing that his client was prepared to send back-up documents to *The Nation* for all the assertions made in the letter printed here. Since the offer was made, we duly requested all such material. Not much was forthcoming. The phone records that he did send are worthless, since the duration of each call is carefully excised. Thus Dershowitz's phone tolls show one call made to William Kunstler's office at 4:10 P.M. on June 7 but give no indication of how long it lasted. In a letter to Wypijewski dated July 12, Dershowitz says, "In Mr. Kunstler's office, my associate spoke to a woman who identified herself as Mr. Kunstler's secretary." Kunstler tells us that there are no secretaries in his office, only "legal workers" and that "no one has been called a secretary in this office for twenty years." In a letter to Dershowitz written on July 18, responding to Dershowitz's of June 21, Kunstler wrote, "There is no notation in my office of any such call having been received or any such response ["He will have no comment"] having been made on June 8th, when I was testifying in a federal trial in Hartford, Conn., or any other date, although we keep a running record of all incoming calls when I am away. I do not believe that such a call was placed by anyone, whether he or she was posing as a newspaper reporter or not." The attentive reader will note that Kunstler cites Dershowitz's claim of a call made on June 8 although the phone records show a call of undisclosed length (hypothetically a hang-up, or something as brief as "Is William Kunstler there?" "No, he's in Hartford"; or some longer meaningless exchange) on June 7. Dershowitz's letter to Kunstler plainly cites June 8, which again shows the uncertain state of his memory or his researcher's notes.

(3) With the quotation from Kunstler, Dershowitz is up to his usual tricks, implying that Kunstler, shamed into self-defense, was somehow accepting the legitimacy of Dershowitz's premises. Those, as Kunstler has maintained, are composted with deceit. The CBS interview, conducted for a news feature on "China and the Press," was raised to show that Dershowitz's conclusions are also insupportable, and that if he had really sought Kunstler's opinion he would have got an answer substantially different from the one he manufactured. (In the unedited interview, Kunstler indeed uses the word "massacre.") Likewise with Chomsky, whose column Dershowitz rather revealingly misquotes, reading "Popular struggles," in the original, as "Power struggles." He also makes slippery reference to a letter to the editor, in which Chomsky actually wrote, "I condemned the massacre in Beijing at once in radio interviews."

The full lunacy of Dershowitz's attack on the left comes with his claim that by mentioning "Tblisi" (another Dershowitz innovation), Kwangju, San Salvador and "many other cases," Chomsky "trivializes the enormity of the Chinese massacre." After noting the earlier misquotation, Chomsky comments, "More interesting is his notion that I trivialize the massacre by comparing it to 'other cases,' such as the gassing of thousands of Kurds in Iraq, or the slaughter of thousands of Hungarian workers by Soviet tanks, or the massacre of tens of thousands of Timorese by U.S.-backed Indonesian invaders, to mention some of the 'other cases' that quickly come to mind."

I regard the Chinese leaders as a bunch of fascist thugs and said so in "Beat the Devil," expressing the hope that Deng and the others would be thrown from office. (This did not prevent Mike Royko, a Dershowitz lookalike on this topic, from subsequently challenging me to defend my supposed support for the Chinese leadership. As one might expect from this chicken-livered Chicago demagogue, he never published my response, even though he had invited it.) Back in late June, Nicholas Kristof of *The New York Times* concluded that no one could ever know the precise figure, but it looked as though 400 to 800 students and workers were killed on June 4 in Tiananmen Square. In Kwangju in 1980 some 2,000 people demonstrating for democracy were killed by South Korean troops released from guard duty by U.S. officers. The Asia Watch report from that year describes the murders and mutilations and states, "Paratroopers carried out three days of barbarity with the zeal of Nazi storm troopers." Who is the trivializer? Chomsky, whom Dershowitz is pleased to call a democracy-basher, or Dershowitz and the U.S. government, which would certainly like to forget what happened at Kwangju? If Dershowitz wants to play with numbers, how does he justify his failure in any of his columns over the past year to condemn Israel for its killing of some 700 Palestinians since the beginning of the *intifada*?

(4) Dershowitz persists in his attempts to libel the National Lawyers Guild, concealing one part of a conversation (in which the executive director, Michael Cowan, affirmed that his personal view was also the Guild's view) and distorting another (omitting Cowan's statement that the guild would not "comment further" until it had more information on the situation in China).

(5) My colleague Tristan Reader reported immediately after getting off the phone with Dershowitz on June 21 that Dershowitz said his associates had contacted the Palestinian press office. Dershowitz was attempting to explain why no Palestinian official at the U.N. mission had any record or memory of a call from Dershowitz's office. There is no P.L.O. press office, which makes Dershowitz's claim in a letter to Wypijewski of July 12 that his assistant was told by some unnamed Palestinian at the mission to "call back after 11 and ask for the press office" all the more peculiar. Directly after being told this again on the phone by Dershowitz, Wypijewski hung up and called the P.L.O. mission and asked for the "press office." Wypijewski's account of the exchange reads as follows: "The woman who answered the phone, Enaia Botrous, who identified herself as a secretary, hesitated and asked what it was that I wanted because they didn't have a press office. . . . I asked if it was ever possible that she or anyone answering the phone would tell someone that the press contact does not come in until eleven. She said 'After 11 o'clock? No way. The people who deal with the press are not in then. Mr. Terzi [the Ambassador], who usually deals with the press, comes in at 8:30 until 10, 10:30. The others begin at 9:30 and then they leave.' . . . So by 11 they're usually at the U.N.? I asked. 'Ninety-nine percent of the time.'"

Yasir Arafat's later communication, characteristically misdated by Dershowitz, is repellent. This does not alter Dershowitz's misrepresentation of Israel's posture toward the massacre. I wrote in my column that on June 19, 20 and 21, more than two weeks after the massacre, Reader phoned the Israeli Embassy in Washington no less than five times asking for Israel's official reaction to the massacre. By the time we went to press on the evening of June 22 we had received no answer. A search of the record by Jane Hunter, editor of *Israeli Foreign Affairs*, shows that it wasn't until June 27 that Foreign Minister Moshe Arens formally condemned the repression in China. *The Jerusalem Post* commented on June 28 that Arens's reference at that time to "positive developments" in Israeli-Chinese relations "reinforced the view that Israel does not wish to jeopardize the progress it has made with China in the past year." This "progress" included provision by Israel to China of 105 mm. guns and laser sights mounted on the tanks used to attack the demonstrators.

(6) Dershowitz admits he misrepresented *The Nation*'s editorial and simultaneously says he did not.

(7) Dershowitz claimed that the left press belittled the massacre. In fact, with the exception of the *Workers World*, the language of these papers was stronger in condemnation than anything in the mainstream corporate press. Dershowitz now tries to obscure this fact with his chicanery.

(8) Dershowitz lied in his column of early June, just as I said he did. Without even the excuse of hasty reaction he repeated his mendacious charges in another column circulated by United Features at the beginning of the second week in July. In all drafts of his letter to *The Nation* he repeats his scoundrelly libels about "democracy-bashers," all people more honest and principled than he.

Alexander Cockburn

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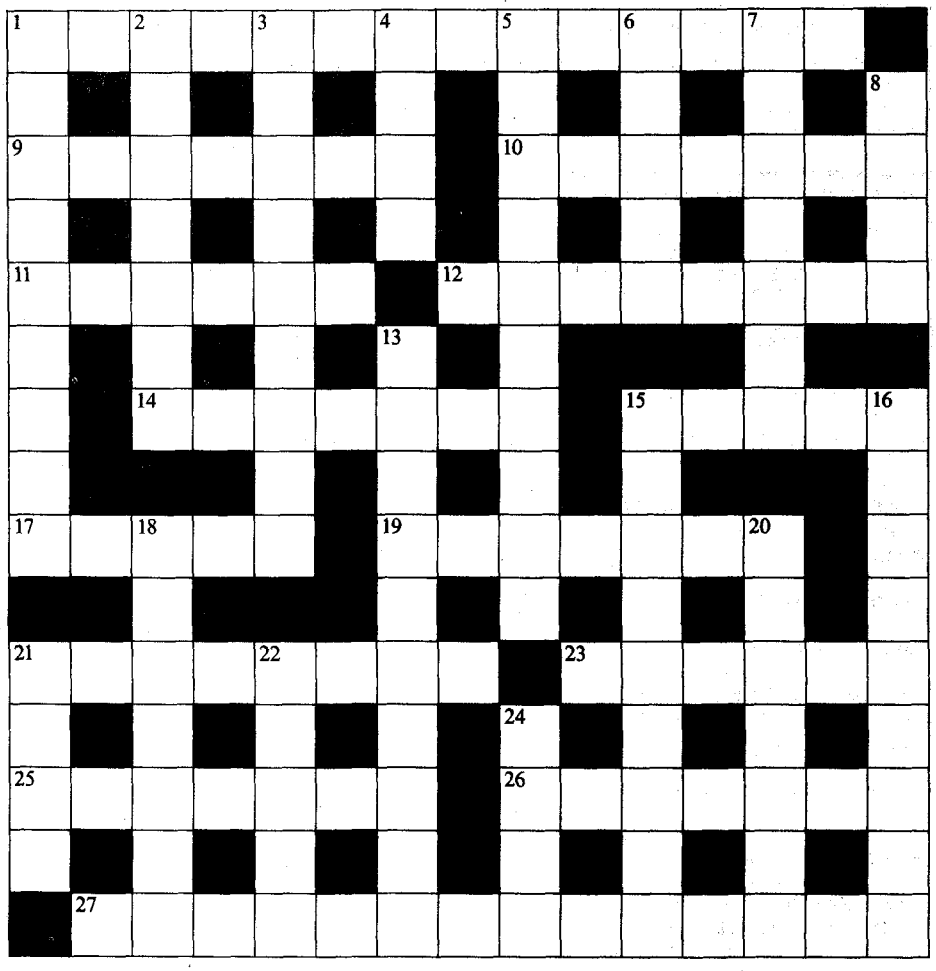

ACROSS

1 Drugs or cars? (7,7)
9 Never, as Erskine shows, use these when you make a mistake. (7)
10 and 17 When torn, did a flip-flop, where things are gone forever! (4,3,5)
11 It seems a false coin to me, but you may have to earn it. (6)
12 Where they play poker, or just wait? (8)
14 Orthodox school for the old destroyer of another religion. (7)
15 The head of 14 comes in for a sort of 12. (5)
17 See 10
19 The beginning of the end of the year, in mensal connotation, or the spirit which is propriety itself! (7)
21 It might be, with water going out, though not really 10. (2,3,3)
23 Are they taken in, however lightly? (Tins, as the British say, go back to Kansas. (6)
25 Opening, otherwise expressing contingency on the frozen stuff. (7)
26 Fifty inside would make this total struggle. (7)
27 It shows how eight, less "Nessie," float with it. (14)

DOWN

1 and 21 down Wonderful in the picture of the same name! (3,6,2,2)
2 Can you find any around the one of Triumph, without government supervision? (7)
3 The sort of 15 down who doesn't charge for brickwork, perhaps? (9)
4 Thrown out by the players? (4)
5 You might stop on it first, and in Germany find the old sailor's girl loses her head because of its superfluous repetition. (10)
6 Old weapon, that is, used by the Texas hero. (5)
7 Provides work in the 12, perhaps, with a degree of similarity. (7)
8 People on it seem to know what they are doing, and smile broadly. (4)
13 See bet—it's a form of the 3-letter crossword animal that sounds original. (10)
15 Some people are called by what could be 3 down. (9)
16 Concerning Amy and Jo, for example, they might give the government a hard time! (9)
18 This seems to go apace, but usually on horseback. (7)
20 An old weapon, about the sort that might cut things down. (7)
21 See 1 down
22 Looking at part of the abbey in Gloucester? (5)
24 Split cane, which some young people try to get rid of. (4)

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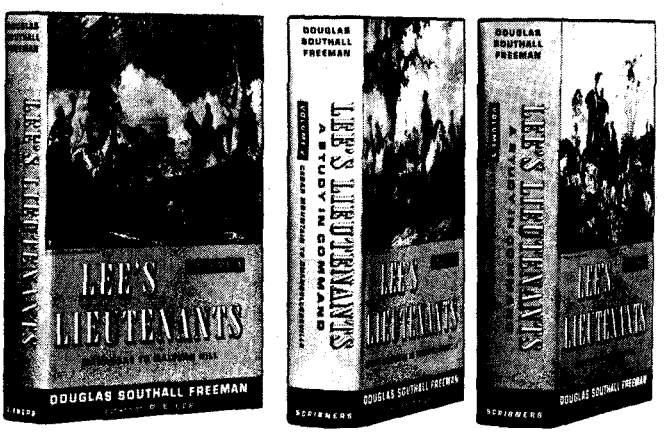

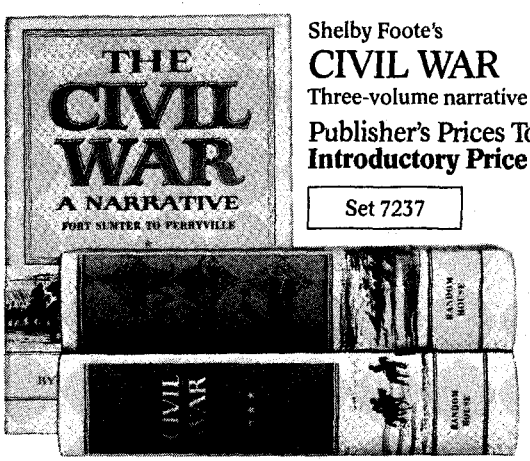

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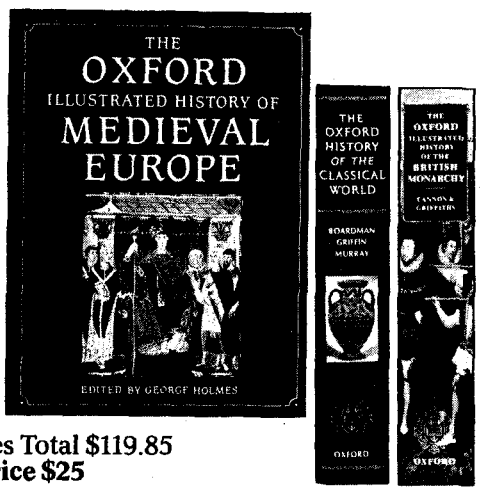

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